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CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

Constitution Amendment Bill¹

IN reply to a Parliamentary question Mr. C. J. M. Alport, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said that the Acting Governor-General in accordance with the Constitution had forwarded the African Affairs Board's report, which set out the Board's objections to the Constitution Amendment Bill. The Federal Government had also forwarded a statement of the reasons why it considered the Royal Assent should be given to the Bill.

After full and careful consideration of its reasons and of the Federal Government's statement and after making personal inquiries on the spot while he was in the Federation, the Secretary of State, Lord Home, was satisfied that it would be right to advise that the Royal Assent should be given. Under the Federal Constitution this may only be done by Order-in-Council, the draft of which must lie before Parliament for forty days. The forty-day period expires on December 12, 1957.

The Federal Government contended that, if the constitutional changes proposed in the Bill were read with the Federal Government's franchise proposals, so far from being disadvantageous to Africans they were advantageous to them, particularly because African members of the Federal Assembly were increased in a greater ratio than other members; many more Africans would be eligible to participate in the election of the African members and the Special European member for Southern Rhodesia than do so under the present arrangements; for the first time in the history of any of the Territories or of the Federation Africans who were British protected persons would be able to qualify for the ordinary franchise and thus be in a position to influence the election to the Federal Assembly of the members of unspecified race. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 2, 1957.)

Africa Bureau Statement

The Africa Bureau published a pamphlet entitled *Central Africa and the British Parliament*² in which it said: "During the past five years Africans have felt a growing sense of frustration at their impotence to influence the way in which the affairs of the Federation have been handled. The African Affairs Board was established to safeguard African interests, including representation in the Federal Assembly.

"There can be no doubt about Parliamentary responsibility in this matter, and the British Parliament will betray those whom it ought to protect, if it does not give expression to the views of the African people whose slender constitutional powers are in danger of further reduction.

"The Africa Bureau believes: that any legislation which in effect reduces African representation in the Assembly should be withdrawn; that constitutional amendment of any kind should be postponed until the Constitutional Revision Conference of the five Governments (Federal, United Kingdom, S. Rhodesian, N. Rhodesian and Nyasaland) to be held at some time between 1960 and 1963 as laid down in the Federal Constitution: that before that date, long overdue changes should be made in the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, so that the desires of the majority

of the inhabitants of these territories should be directly and fully represented in these Legislatures: that no further concessions should be made—either publicly, or by implicit agreement—on the part of the British Government aimed at granting the Federal Government independence, or 'dominion' status until the desires of *all inhabitants* of Central Africa have been expressed on these matters."

At a public meeting in London organized by the Africa Bureau Mr. James Callaghan, M.P. (Labour), said there were no signs at all on the part of Africans of their opposition to the political aspects of the Federation dying down. "Unfortunately little attempt was being made on the part of the leaders of the Federation to make the Africans feel that they were part of it."

Mr. Callaghan said that Rhodesia could be one of the great countries of the world if the political advance of Africans kept pace with the economic advance. A special responsibility was now resting on the British people in relation to the revision of the Federal Assembly and he hoped that a big public opinion would be created in this country before the final decisions were made. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 12, 1957.)

Dr. Rita Hinden, writing to the same paper, said: "Will enough voices be raised in this country to stave off a great disaster in Central Africa? In the coming weeks Parliament will be debating a major issue of principle which has arisen there; but behind this looms something even more important—the whole question of whether we are going to permit the transfer of power to the local Europeans and so open the way to a repetition of South Africa's miserable story. . . .

"Are we going to permit the safeguards that were written into the Federal Constitution, precisely in order to protect the Africans against the encroachment of European power to be whittled away? The safeguard on which particular stress was laid by Parliament was the African Affairs Board. If Parliament now sets aside its appeal, should anyone be surprised if the Europeans rejoice, scenting their ultimate triumph? Should anyone be surprised if the Africans lose whatever shred of trust they still have in us? Indeed, should anyone be surprised if we find ourselves with a desperate Commonwealth crisis on our hands in 1960—Britain, South Africa, and Sir Roy Welensky against Canada, India, and The Rest?"

The *Observer* (November 3, 1957) said: "Can Lord Home have fully realized the implications of the new Bill . . . which it is recommending to the House? Buried under a mass of complicated provisions, the real issue is a new method of electing the African M.P.s from the two Northern Territories which would emasculate their representative character. Eight out of twelve African Members in the Federal Assembly would henceforth be returned primarily by European votes.

"Although the African Members would be quite unrepresentative of their people, their assent to laws would (as it already is in Southern Rhodesia) be regarded as implying the assent of the African population. The minority of genuinely elected African spokesmen would always be outvoted by the 'stooges'. To believe that this device would weaken the political movement among the Africans of the Northern Territories, stigmatized as 'black nationalism', would be a serious mistake. Its effect would be to divert that movement from constitutional channels to others."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (November 2, 1957) commented: "Although a majority of the Federation's electorate will approve the British Government's decision, some vocal sections of the population can be expected to denounce it loudly. But this may prove less harmful in the long run than the repercussions that could have been expected had the British Government refused to approve the Constitution Amendment Bill. In those

¹DIGEST V, 2. ²Africa Bureau, 4d.

circumstances the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, would undoubtedly have gone to the country on the issue. The election would have been heated, bitter and acrimonious and the harm done to relations between this country and Britain, and between racial elements within the Federation, would have taken a long time to repair—if complete repair were possible at all.

"As it is, a minority reaction in the Federal Assembly to the British Government's assent may be sharper than one would wish. If an opinion expressed in one quarter is well founded, resignation as a mark of protest by at least one Member is a possibility."

M.P. Again

Mr. J. Z. Savanhu, specially elected African member for Mashonaland, S. Rhodesia, in the Federal Assembly, who resigned after voting in favour of the Constitution Amendment Bill¹ stood again for election and was returned unopposed. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 25, 1957.)

Visit of Secretary of State

Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, made a three-week tour of the Federation. On arrival he said he would discuss Dominion status with Sir Roy Welensky. He emphasized that the British Government policy was belief in federation between all three territories—Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

In N. Rhodesia Lord Home said that the constitutions could not be forced upon people and unless they inspired loyalty they would collapse. Those who feared that constitutional changes might come too fast or too slowly had a safeguard on which they could rely. The words which indicated the nature of the task involved by the constitutional review in 1960 were most carefully chosen by Her Majesty's Government and Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, in April this year. The five responsible Governments would have to agree "on the constitutional advances which may be made" and "consider a programme for the attainment of such a status as would enable the Federation to become eligible for full membership of the Commonwealth". There was no ambiguity there and no commitment.

In Nyasaland Lord Home said that federation was here to stay, and the sensible thing was to concentrate on making it work to the advantage of all three territories. Nyasaland gave the clearest proof of the economic advantages of federation. Expenditure on African education had trebled, and, in general, the total Government expenditure in the territory now far exceeded what would have been available from its pre-federation revenue. Without federation this expenditure would not have been met in the territory without penal taxation. The clear and decisive economic and financial advantages to Nyasaland Africans were among reasons which led the British Government to fix on a Federal Constitution.

In S. Rhodesia he said that the people of the Federation could have absolute confidence that the United Kingdom Government would uphold and sustain the Federation, and added nothing could be gained by pretending that differences between the races did not exist. The supreme test would be in the building of political partnership, and nowhere was there greater need for patience and purpose. If the Federation was to be accepted in the hearts of the races, two fears had to be removed: the fear of Europeans that Africans would use the political machine to dominate by sheer weight to numbers and the fear of the African that the European would use political experience to keep Africans in a position of permanent inferiority. "Time alone can bring confidence, but if each will recognize and admit the fact—so clear to the onlooker—that African and European is indispensable to each other in the economic development of their common country and in framing a common destiny, many of their fears will disappear." (*Federation Newsletter*, October 12, 19, 26, 1957.)

In Nyasaland Lord Home met both European and African members of the Legislative Council and also the African Federal M.P.s. After the meeting Mr. N. D. Kwenje, M.L.C., said: that they had told the Commonwealth Secretary that to force federation on the Nyasaland Africans against their will was not democratic. "We told him we intend to get out," he said, "and that we will never accept federation. The British Government had to listen to the will of the majority of the people and that when we were

politically mature we wanted self-government. Lord Home told us of the money that federation had brought to our country. We told him that money could bring unhappiness. South Africa had plenty of money but its Africans were not happy." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 12, 1957.)

Memoranda presented to Lord Home by the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, the Southern Rhodesia Asian Organization and the Inter-Racial Association of Southern Rhodesia all stated that race relations in Central Africa had deteriorated, or were in danger of deteriorating, since federation and that Dominion status should not be granted until all acts of discrimination based on race were outlawed. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 3, 1957.)

Questioned about opposition to Federation, Lord Home said he thought it an extreme statement to say that most Africans opposed federation. Many had no clear idea of its meaning, its purpose and its achievements. He did not think that the African national congresses could be accepted as representative of African opinion. Though federation might have been represented to the Africans as undesirable, it was impossible to say that African opinion was against it.

After his visit to Northern Rhodesia, Lord Home said at a Press conference that he had found no real opposition to federation, only an anxiety about how it was working. Discussing the request of some African leaders for universal adult suffrage in the Federation, Lord Home said that this was clearly impossible for some time. (*The Times*, October 16, 1957.)

Officials to Push Federation

Mr. John Gaunt, leader of the Dominion Party in Northern Rhodesia, told Lord Home that he considered the administration in his territory was not helping by telling Africans of the advantages of federation. Later Lord Home said that he was satisfied provincial and district officers in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland now knew it was their job to put federation across to the Africans and that, knowing this, they would do the job. In the early days of federation, he said, there had been a lag in this respect because the instruction had been to be neither for nor against federation.

Lord Home added: "I am perfectly satisfied that the directive sent out by the Governors of both territories is satisfactory and leaves no room for doubt that the administration will explain the advantages of federation and will make it clear that federation is the British Government's policy."

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. E. D. Hone, said in a letter to the Press: "On March 14 this year I myself gave the lie in the Legislative Council to accusations that the Official Members of the Government did not 'believe in federation'. I used these words: 'The Official Members are working, have worked and will work to promote the interests on the Federation as far as they possibly can.'"

"The Governor of this territory, on his tours and at all his meetings with Africans, has gone out of his way to stress the benefits of federation. Only recently he pointed out to an African audience that when copper failed in 1932 there was starvation and hunger and lack of employment all over Northern Rhodesia. He went on to say that today when the price of copper has been more than halved there is no unemployment, there is no hunger, there is no difficulty for the African people because Southern Rhodesia still produces asbestos, chrome and tobacco and we in Northern Rhodesia get our share of the revenue from that. . . ." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 14, 18, 19, 1957.)

Office of Racial Affairs

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, announced that the Federal Government is to set up an office of racial affairs under the portfolio of the Prime Minister. Its sole concern will be to deal, so far as the Government is constitutionally able, with problems of race which confront the Government. Sir Roy said that he believed that an instrument would be created which would be useful not only to the Government but to all those, both Europeans and Africans, who had the cause of peaceful race relations in the Federation at heart. "But let me make this plain," he said. "This office is to be an instrument of government and an earnest endeavour to solve the racial problems of our country. It will never be a sop to insubstantial aspirations on the part of irresponsible leaders. I am just as determined as the pioneers were not only to see our civilization

established but to see its standards maintained." (*The Times*, November 6, 1957.)

Independence

Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, told a Federal Party meeting in Salisbury that he believed plans would be laid for the independence of the Federation in 1960. Asked whether the Federation's status would be similar to that of Canada and Australia or Ghana and Malaya, Sir Roy said he did not consider there could be such things as degrees of independence. The Federation was seeking the status of a Dominion within the British Commonwealth. (*Federation Newsletter*, October 26, 1957.)

C.P.A. Delegation from Britain

A delegation from the U.K. branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association made a month's tour of the Federation. It consisted of seven M.P.s, the Hon. Richard Wood (Conservative), Mr. L. James Callaghan (Labour), Major Patrick H. B. Wall (Conservative), Colonel J. Harwood Harrison (Conservative), Mr. J. E. MacColl (Labour), Mr. G. A. Pargiter (Labour), and Mr. C. Fletcher-Cooke (Conservative).

Mr. Wood, the leader of the delegation, said the delegation understood the desire that existed in the Federation for Dominion status. "But we cannot help, all of us, but be mindful of the pledges given when the Federation started, about the political development of this country. We cannot disregard these pledges." There were great fears—particularly among the Africans in Nyasaland—about the economic and political conditions in the Federation.

Mr. Callaghan said it was not enough to prove to the people of the Federation that the new state of affairs was advantageous to them. "You have also to win assent to what you are doing and this, on the political plane, you have not done." Mr. Callaghan added that the African's economic development was outstripping his political and social integration in the community. In this connexion, tension was likely to build up in the Federation, as it had in other parts of the world which had been faced with similar problems. The Federation had not yet really got on its feet politically with the majority of the population. A period of constitutional stability was needed.

"Because there is this pressure for Dominion status today by certain people, this is being used by a great deal of opinion—which might otherwise acquiesce in Federation—as an argument against Federation, because they think this is what Federation is leading them to in 1960." African leaders found themselves compelled to make political demands to try to protect themselves against the day when Dominion status was granted.

Asked what would be a Labour Government's view if the Federation—as a result of it being refused Dominion status in 1960—declared itself independent, Mr. Callaghan said this was a hypothetical question, as the request for Dominion status had not yet been made. Mr. Callaghan said the British Government should be fair to both races and that would be the aim of any Labour Government. (*Pretoria News*, September 26, 1957.)

At a meeting of the Rhodesia National Affairs Association in Salisbury, Mr. Callaghan said: "You cannot expect us to press the British Government to abrogate a pledge, which it and you freely entered into, because of dislike of Colonial Office administration in the two Northern Territories. Before there can be any question of Dominion status you have got to have representative government in these two territories." The Federation had simply not made any impression yet among 95 per cent of the people of those territories.

"I can't find any substantial body of African opinion which is prepared to accept federation. If people here are not able to work out a solution that will carry the bulk of African opinion with them in 1960, then the British Parliament will have to come forward with its own proposals."

Mr. Callaghan said there was no intention on the part of the Labour Party of introducing universal suffrage straight away. (*Rhodesia Herald* September 26, 1957.)

In an interview with the *Central African Examiner* (September 28, 1957) Mr. Callaghan said: "If partnership is to be more than a phrase, is it not time that there was joint education of young people of all races with similar capacities? . . . On the question of higher status, the Labour

Party is not opposed in Central Africa, as a matter of principle, to the transfer of power or to the granting of higher status. After all, we are usually accused of granting higher status too quickly, rather than of granting it too slowly. But this claim for Dominion status, which is now being canvassed, is not just a claim for that. If it was a claim by people for the right to govern themselves, then many difficulties would disappear. But it is a claim by a minority of educated people to govern not only themselves, but also a great many other less advanced people. The situation is simply not analogous with that of Ghana or Malaya, with which it is often compared. . . .

"If, as I would hope, there is going to be a political accommodation between European and African, the African National Congresses will need to moderate their demands, and the Europeans will need to be more forthcoming. The European has most to do, because he has got the economic and the political power. The Congress leaders whom I have met during my tour all know that they cannot rely on the Labour Party to break up federation; nor that universal suffrage will be immediately conceded. They know that the transfer of power is not a single act, but a process, which will take a period of time.

"They also know that, if they use violence, their advance will be set back for years.

"Many people, most of whom have never met Harry Nkumbula, the president of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, have told me that he is behind the Copperbelt agitation and violence. I do not believe this.

"But there will never be any kind of political stability until the African National Congress is free to act and exert its influence through political machinery. If you leave them out of the political scheme of things, then they will naturally act outside of your framework. The potentialities of men like Harry Nkumbula in Northern Rhodesia and Robert Chikerema and George Nyandoro (the vice-president and secretary of the S.R.A.N.C.) are being wasted because they have no place in the present political framework."

Reaction to Delegation's Comments

The *Rhodesia Herald* (September 26, 1957) referring to Mr. Callaghan's comment on the demand for independence said: "We are not asking, he says, for the right to govern ourselves; we are asking for the right to govern millions of Africans who are protected by the British Crown. And what, we question him, is wrong with that? Have the Whites not amply demonstrated their good intentions? Are they not spending a very large slice of the national income on the advancement of the Africans and encouraging their development in every possible way?

"The Parliamentary delegation has had an opportunity of seeing many aspects of life in the Federation, but its deputy leader has failed to open his eyes and has ignored the White opinion without which there can be no real hope for the African. To slap the faces of the Whites, at a time when both Black and White moderates are trying in good faith to get together, is neither diplomatic nor good sense and can only result in a hardening of attitudes."

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, referred to "provocative" remarks made by visiting British M.P.s after a "three-weeks Cook's Tour" and said this was a reprehensible development. He went on: "If the Government of the Federation was to be tried by this delegation we might have known the charge and have been given an opportunity to appear in the dock." Sir Roy pointed out that Rhodesians could not understand "why practically any other African State can head at almost breakneck speed for independence except the Federation. . . .

"They have seen fit to give independence to Ghana, Malaya, and soon to Nigeria, perhaps to Uganda as well, and it is not my fault that responsible people in the Federation, who set great store by the standards of responsibility they have inherited from the United Kingdom, now insist that their claim for constitutional advancement be heard and go forward."

Anyone who suggested, said the Prime Minister, that a Labour Party Government would have power to amend the Federal Constitution was not only wrong but was misleading other people. No amendment of the Constitution was possible without a two-thirds majority of the Federal Parliament. This fact in conjunction with the convention now applicable

to the Federation, that the United Kingdom Government will not legislate for the Federation in any exclusive Federal field except at the request of the Federal Government clearly meant that at its worst we would not change the present state of affairs. To suggest that this would be a calamity was nonsense, although he would be sorry to see it happen.

Some Critics

Mr. Austen Albu, a British M.P. (Labour), in a broadcast on his return from the Federation, where he undertook an economic survey, said there were still far too many restrictions on Africans doing semi-skilled work, particularly in municipal areas in Southern Rhodesia and on the railways. He was struck by the extent to which Europeans were doing jobs which he thought Africans were capable of learning in a short time. If the Federation could settle its attitude towards Africans it would want more investment in secondary industry.

Mr. Albu added that if he had to consider investing in secondary industry in the Federation he would consider it as an African country. He would want to see whether or not Africans' incomes rose, whether Africans were brought up the economic ladder and whether Africans were given skilled jobs at which they could earn a reasonable income. (*Central African Post*, August 28, 1957.)

Mr. Maurice Webb, a former president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said in Durban that the Federation still had far to go before partnership was achieved between White and non-White, but the Federal Government was resolutely turned in the right direction. He added: Segregation in the Federation was much the same as it was in the Union before 1948 . . . more a matter of custom rather than legislation. A visitor to Southern Rhodesia might get the impression that there was very little difference between the racial situation there and in the Union, but there were significant changes being made that tended to move away from the policy being followed in South Africa. (*Natal Daily News*, August 30, 1957.)

Wage Differentials

On his return from Central Africa, Mr. James Callaghan, M.P., commented on the economic position of wage earners in the Federation. "There is a much greater gap between the standard of a farm worker and an industrial worker in the Rhodesias than there is in Britain. An average farm worker's wage is no more than £3 per month together with a hut and rations.

"African industrial wages, in works which I visited, are, in the Copperbelt, £17 a month: in a radio factory in Bulawayo 1s. 9d. per hour for a 42-hour week, plus an allowance for rent: in a cotton mill £8 a month plus a meal a day: in a steelworks £6 a month plus rations and a house for a labourer, and for a foreman perhaps £12 a month with the same allowances.

"But the gap between agricultural and industrial workers is tiny by comparison with the gap between African and European. In one works I saw two crane drivers doing the same work—one an African, getting £11 per month. The other, a European, averages £120. And it is, of course, the European worker whose status is challenged who is fiercest in resisting the advance of the African. But the pace of industrial growth in Central Africa is so fast that he will be forced to give way." (*Reynolds News*, September 29, 1957.)

S. Rhodesian M.P. Advocates Secession

Mr. H. D. Wightwick, M.P. for Umtali (U.R.P.), said that "it must be made abundantly clear to the British Government that Southern Rhodesia will not remain in a Federation where, for the foreseeable future, there is any likelihood of equal representation between Black and White, or the slightest chance of the European losing control. Rather than face this we would break away and stand on our own feet. I believe we could certainly do so, but if in the final event it proved impossible, then we should seek a closer association with the Union, probably in a federal system south of the Zambesi. It would hold considerably fewer terrors than association with Black-dominated states to the north.

Commenting on the British Parliamentary delegation, Mr. Wightwick said: "It is clear from what has been said, both publicly and in private conversations with local M.P.s, that we shall not get Dominion status in

any form except on the basis of equal representation. . . . Let us be under no illusions. These people, both Labour and Conservative, meant what they said. They have both openly declared themselves to be the enemies of continued White control of Central Africa." (*Central African Post*, October 2, 1957.)

New Political Party

The Constitution Party has been formed as a result of a meeting held in Lusaka. Those concerned with its creation included Dr. Alexander Scott, Independent Federal M.P., Mr. S. H. Chileshe, M.L.C., and Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, president of the African Mineworkers' Union. It is believed that it also has the support of Mr. Harry Franklin, Member for Education and Social Services in the N. Rhodesian Legislative Council, of Mr. Dauti Yamba, African Federal M.P. for N. Rhodesia, and Mr. Godwin Lewanika, president of the Mines African Staff Association.

The party is pledged to strive for the attainment of a constitution for the Federation which recognizes that all men are born equal in dignity before God and have a common duty to Him and to one another. It will support the right of all those living in the Federation, without distinction of race or colour, to practise any trade or profession for which they may qualify. The party accepts the principle of the common voters' roll, but rejects the concept of universal adult franchise.

Until it can achieve the type of constitution for the Federation which it seeks, the party considers itself bound by the present Constitution, and particularly by the preamble to that Constitution. It will oppose the granting of Dominion status to the Federation, and any other constitutional changes which are not entirely in accordance with the preamble. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 22, 1957.)

The *Central African Examiner* (October 26, 1957) commented that although the six "fundamental principles" of the party's constitution are, with insignificant modifications, word for word the six Precepts of the Capricorn Africa Society, the membership of the Constitution Party is far wider than Capricorn membership and Colonel David Stirling is not, in fact, on the party's interim committee.

The party decided to appoint six Guardians. They would be equivalent to the Capricorn Society's Custodians, with a duty to interpret fundamental principles when the party's executive was in doubt, or the party members divided, over a specific issue.

The Guardians (who cannot be members of the party executive and will be respected, and probably retired, Rhodesian figures—an obvious choice is Archbishop Paget) will not act on their own motion. They could become, in some respects, like the American Supreme Court.

The Constitution Party's aim, to establish a society free from racial discrimination, presupposes a common voters' roll. The party, therefore, plans to fight elections both territorially and federally in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but only federally in Southern Rhodesia—that is to say, they will support the United Rhodesia Party and oppose the Federal Party. A Nyasaland organization has yet to be formed.

In N. Rhodesia the new party might well get White Liberals dissatisfied with the Federal Party to join. In S. Rhodesia it would be faced with the recent merger of the Federal Party with the United Rhodesia Party and also with the S. Rhodesia African National Congress.

"There are two obvious dangers which this new party may aggravate, one at Federal, the other at Southern Rhodesian level. The group of M.P.s supporting the party at the next Federal Assembly session will with the exception of Dr. Scott, probably all be either specially elected Africans or specially appointed Europeans. Unless the party manages to enrol some ordinarily elected Europeans, it may produce a parliament of 'unofficials' opposed by 'officials', a most undesirable situation. The second danger is the worst. The Constitution Party views itself in Southern Rhodesia as a second line of troops for Garfield Todd, but in the event it may, by its very existence, draw away African and liberal supporters from the U.R.P. who would have stuck by it, had the Constitution Party not been formed. So it is of the utmost importance that Constitution Party members make clear that they are wholeheartedly behind Todd in his efforts to liberalize the Federal Party."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (October 23, 1957) said: "The Constitution Party is likely to appear a far more attractive vehicle to non-European voters

than either the Federal or Dominion Parties. It could serve a threefold purpose. To Africans genuinely wishing to co-operate with Europeans it could be a welcome alternative to the extremism of the African Congress. It could draw into its ranks nominated African members of the Federal Assembly and the northern Territorial Legislatures not prepared to join either of the existing parties. . . . The Constitution Party's third purpose could be to form a genuine parliamentary opposition.

"It will display none of the other two parties' inhibitions in breaking down the colour bar, in seeking non-European as well as European membership, and in exhibiting a multi-racial complexion. . . . The weakness of the Constitution Party at present is that its leadership is entirely Northern Rhodesian. . . . It is probably too advanced in some of its political opinions for most of the electorate at this stage—a majority of whom will, in addition, bitterly disagree with its decision to drag its feet on the issue of Dominion status."

Inter-Racial University Hall

The Council of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has decided to make Carr-Saunders Hall (normally reserved for African male students) also available for European male students in 1958. (*Federation Newsletter*, September 28, 1957.)

In 1957 the college has seventy full-time students, and of these about forty will remain next year. Of the 131 who have applied for admission next year, 121 want to be in residence. They include twenty-eight European women, forty-nine men, forty African men, and four Indian men. Applications have come from Britain, South Africa, Tanganyika, Kenya, Basutoland and the Rhodesian Federation. (*Pretoria News*, October 11, 1957.)

Professor B. A. Fletcher, the vice-principal, said that the ratio of about ten Europeans to one African could be expected to be maintained for a good many years to come. The demand for entrance to the university had exceeded all hopes, and next year there would be 50 per cent more students than present finances could support. He added: "Notwithstanding the foolishness of certain visitors from overseas and some of the overseas Press, there is a great degree of sensibility, particularly from the hard core of Rhodesian students." (*Rhodesian Herald*, September 13, 1957.)

For and Against Immigration

On his return from a visit to Britain and Europe Mr. B. D. Goldberg, Parliamentary Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Home Affairs, gave details of the scheme to absorb in the Federation British ex-Servicemen on the land and in the Civil and Armed Services. Mr. Goldberg announced that Lonrho and Willoughby's, which have large land holdings in Southern Rhodesia, had offered to make available nearly 300,000 acres, and that the B.S.A. Company had also offered land and substantial funds for the purchase of land and for long-term loans.

He visualized the British ex-servicemen coming to the Federation with between £4,000 and £6,000 each in gratuities, and pensions of about £30 a month. He hoped that as farm assistants, while training, they would earn enough to keep themselves and their families and afterwards they would be placed on their own farms which would be cleared to the extent of about fifty acres and with a borehole to allow them to get in a cash crop in their first year.

He also announced that Mr. J. G. Suurhoff, Netherlands Minister of Social Affairs and Labour, who dealt with immigration, intended to visit the Federation in 1958. Holland was anxious to increase the number of its people coming to the Federation.

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, told a meeting that European immigrants, far from robbing Africans in the Federation of jobs, in fact created employment for them. Referring to the statement made by Mr. James Callaghan, Labour Member of the British Parliamentary delegation which toured the Federation, that immigration should be restricted, Sir Roy said the implication was that the country should be kept as a closed shop for the African.

"We have a fine country," he said, "which can be developed into a great country, but we are being asked to abandon that prospect for fear that at some future time there may be unemployment."

Mr. M. K. Shankanga, Central Province Secretary of the African National Congress in N. Rhodesia, said that the decision to allow more

White immigrants into the country had resulted in unemployment and dismissal for many Africans. "These untrained, unskilled White immigrants have taken over, and are now earning more than what Africans get out of their labour and knowledge. Many Africans in this country are being moved from their homes and told to go to hilly places where they cannot grow food at all. They are homeless because of federation. They are living a miserable life while a white man is enjoying the rights of this country." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October, 17, 25 and 28, 1957.)

Northern Rhodesia

Fall in Price of Copper

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, commenting on the drastic fall in the world price of copper said: "I think it is most important at times like the present to retain a sense of proportion. It may be remembered that when the price of copper was on the way up our companies stated they saw great dangers for the future of the industry if the price was allowed to get out of hand. In fact, we backed our opinion on this by appropriate action. With copper prices at over £400 a ton we had grave fears for the future of the industry—both because of the element of substitution, which was very real and not just an imaginary threat to the future of the copper industry all over the world—and because experience shows that the higher and faster a commodity rises in price, in most cases the faster and steeper will be the resultant reaction. Now if we felt that about the situation at that time it follows that the converse should be true now. With copper at more realistic levels we have no fears for the future of the industry. . . ."

"Even at a figure of £200 a ton the Copperbelt remains as a whole a profitable enterprise. We have had our perspectives unduly influenced by the exceptional profits of the last two years." (*Federation Newsletter*, September 28, 1957.)

In 1956, the value of copper exported from N. Rhodesia was £113.8 million out of a total export of £181.5 million. The Copper companies paid £30.5 million in taxation, out of the country's total revenue from taxes of £84.4 million. (*Federation Newsletter*, October 12, 1957.)

East Africa & Rhodesia (October 10, 1957) commented: "Average earnings of the European mineworkers in the year ended June 30, 1956, were £2,295 due principally to the fact that copper reached the unprecedented figure of £437 per ton in March of that year and favoured categories, like rock-breakers, were up in the £400 a month bracket. The average had been over £1,000 per annum since 1950 and since 1953 it had exceeded £1,700. In addition the mining companies have provided heavily subsidized housing, with rents of £5 a month and less, for houses which would let normally in Northern Rhodesia at £30 or more, cheap water and light, and extremely well organized social and welfare services at nominal cost. In a high proportion of cases, therefore, it would be fair to add £400 or £500 to the above figures if the full value of the miners' jobs is to be assessed. . . ."

"Immigrants poured in, intent on sampling the fabulous wages, many wanting to accumulate quickly enough money to indulge a secret ambition to farm in the Transvaal or retire to the Cape. When copper was at its peak last year there was literally a queue of people in each mine town waiting for vacancies. While waiting for their lucky break, some slept in cars. Others crowded the hotels, where a room was as difficult to obtain as a job on a mine. . . ."

"Europeans who took jobs in industry often did so simply to fill in time until they could get on to a mine. All salaries were forced up by those paid by the mines. The unprecedented incomes, aggravated by the system of unlimited credit, stimulated overspending—and not merely on the Copperbelt.

"Every shop assistant in the country assumed that any purchase made by any European, even if a complete stranger, was on credit. Cash purchases were treated with disdain, and even discouraged. . . ."

"At one time one mine club at least had to close the bar for certain periods of the day in order to make miners go home for food and rest. The drastic fall in the copper bonus has brought this 'honeymoon' to an end.

Instead of queues for jobs, many men have left and the European daily-paid miners have discovered with something of a shock that their basic wages are little different from those ruling in other industries in the Federation. . . .

"Despite the pricking of the bubble, the European mineworker can hardly be termed badly off, for his 'basic' and cost-of-living allowances are in the region of £1,200 a year, and the copper bonus is even now by no means negligible. In addition, he enjoys all the social and welfare benefits provided by most generous employers. There is no question of his being reduced to hardship; the drop is to a standard of remuneration more nearly in line with that expected in other employment. The Copperbelt is, in fact, facing reality once again."

European Miners Criticized

The Honeyman Commission which investigated the labour dispute in the Copperbelt¹ was critical of the leadership of the European mineworkers' union and emphasized that in all fourteen instances of strikes between January 1, 1956, and July 12, 1957, either there was no recourse to conciliation or conciliation followed the strike. Dealing with the rock-breakers' strike, which brought the mines to a standstill in July, the Commission said that the major blame must rest with the union. It was not a strike, but a break of contract.

The Commission recommended that it should be made a punishable offence to hold a strike without a secret ballot, that the possibility of the victimization of individuals should be removed, and that compulsory arbitration should be introduced when conciliation fails. (*The Times*, November 5, 1957.)

The Commission added a commendation of the restraint with which the African Labour force had behaved during the trouble in July.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (November 4, 1957) commented about the European union: "Behaviour of this nature by the Federation's most powerful trade union in an industry which is the country's main financial prop, is a tremendous shock to the public. . . . If implemented the Commission's recommendations will force the union to behave more responsibly and more democratically. The almost dictatorial powers of the central executive will be firmly held in check."

Social Bar on the Copperbelt

The *Central African Examiner* (October 26, 1957) noted that on the Copperbelt "job advancement for Africans is not being matched by social advancement in the mining communities. The numbers directly involved do not exceed 3 per cent of the Copperbelt labour force of over 40,000, but the importance of these Africans coming forward into the advancement posts is out of all proportion to their numbers. In the present state of development of the Federation it is not easy to distinguish between social and political dissatisfaction among Africans, since the one tends to find expression in the other."

It continued: "Many of the advanced Africans are doing jobs previously performed by Europeans, but it has not led to these men being accepted on anything approaching a basis of equality by fellow European workers. In fact the mines have often found it essential to delay implementation of advancement posts until a complete work category can be taken over, because piece-meal implementation has led to so much friction . . . the mine townships form a world of their own, with conditions determined by the respective companies. . . .

"They have taken the initiative in attracting many of the most outstanding Africans in the community to the Copperbelt, but these men discover on arriving that the pattern of life remains geared to the old paternalistic conception of the African. It is an anomalous situation, with the mining companies pioneering employment opportunities for Africans, yet being responsible at the same time for a social setting that is far behind that of even other parts of the Federation. . . .

"This problem of social integration can only be tackled by deliberate changes in the social environment of the mining towns, changes that only the companies can make. More specifically, it will mean actively sponsoring inter-racial contacts (including setting an example at company

¹DIGEST V, 2.

functions) and providing the appropriate facilities for them—probably multi-racial clubs with eating facilities, and the encouragement of mixed sport. Only by broad changes such as these can the contacts between individuals, the stepping stones of social advancement, be encouraged. For at present those few Europeans who are interested in meeting Africans on equal terms are on the defensive in a hostile environment. But a policy of social advancement is likely to be even more controversial politically—even though it could claim the support of the Preamble of the Constitution—than the measure of economic advancement that has already taken place. The preferred course may well be to wait for the Government to give a stronger lead itself on social integration."

Advancement Rate

The rate of African advancement on the Copperbelt has slowed down. Only thirty-eight Africans were placed in advanced posts in the three months ended September. From the beginning of 1957 until the end of June, 166 Africans were advanced to higher posts. A Chamber of Mines spokesman gave the total number of Africans placed in advanced posts by September 30 as 596. "There were 298 under training at that date," he added. At the end of last year 430 Africans had gone into advanced jobs and about seventy were under training.

Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, in his review of Nchanga mine operations at the end of its financial year, said about African advancement: "The implementation of African advancement has not proceeded as rapidly as the companies had hoped mainly because it has been difficult at times to find suitable candidates among African workers to fill advanced positions."

Nine hundred and fifty posts will eventually be available to advanced Africans on the Copperbelt and they are split into three types. The first type includes twenty-four categories under the agreement between the European union and the mines, the second is "ragged edged" jobs which on some mines have been performed by Europeans and on others by Africans, and the third is intermediate jobs to which Africans are advanced above their previous levels but which do not impinge on European jobs. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 29, 1957.)

Autonomy for N. Rhodesia Suggested

Mr. John Roberts, leader of the elected members of the Legislative Council, suggested in an interview with Lord Home, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, that the British Government should grant sole responsibility to the Northern Rhodesian Government in essentially local matters before the review of the Federal Constitution in 1960.

Mr. Roberts suggested that two lists of Government responsibilities be drawn up, one to include all those subjects on which the British Government had given pledges, such as those concerning African interests, and the other to include local matters such as social welfare and the question of Crown land. The scheme would provide the British Government with an opportunity to see the result of the exercise in granting further responsibility to Central Africa before 1960. (*The Times*, October 10, 1957.)

Previously Mr. Roberts had said that his position in the Legislative Council as Member for Lands and Local Government and also leader of the unofficial members was at times difficult. He thought Northern Rhodesia should align any system of election as closely as possible with, and on the same principles as, a Federal franchise. People must be able to apply the vote with thought, intelligence and ability, he said.

They should be able to judge objectively as individuals and should not be swayed by the masses. "Our qualification must be based on that principle and I don't think that for the sake of expediency we should depart from that principle to any great extent. It will be necessary to accommodate certain people who cannot come up to that standard at this stage.

"But I think we should be extremely careful in departing from a principle just because of political pressure groups of overseas opinion. Because you and I are going to have to stand the consequences of anything we do in the next eighteen months and not political groups who want to give us advice they think we need.

"Let us not stumble in this mad rush to accommodate people on the voters' roll just for the sake of overseas political expediency." (*Central African Post*, September 4, 1957.)

Dominion Party Policy

Mr. John Gaunt, President of the N. Rhodesia division of the Dominion Party, stated that its political platform was (a) self-government in Northern Rhodesia by a majority of members elected on the voters' roll—not later than 1959. This means: (i) the Prime Minister or Chief Minister will be an Elected Member; (ii) no increase in African Members, Official Nominated Members and Unofficial Nominated Members without a corresponding increase in Elected Members.

(b) Dominion Status for the Federation within the Commonwealth to be declared not later than 1960. This means—that if after all attempts at reasonable settlement have failed, and if the United Kingdom Government of the day wilfully and obdurately refuses to grant us what they have already granted the politically unstable people of Ghana and the faction-ridden people of Malaya, and are about to grant to Nigeria—then we shall declare our independence within the Commonwealth by means of a motion introduced into the Federal Assembly.

(c) Settlement of all differences between Europeans and Africans by direct negotiation between the two parties; no interference from outside. This implies—the total rejection of the hypocritical expression "partnership" with its evasive and contradictory connotations, and the substitution of the word "co-operation".

(d) The firm maintenance of law and order in both the urban and rural areas. This means: (i) the banning of all boycotts and subversive speeches by irresponsible agitators; (ii) the giving of full moral, financial and physical support to those chiefs in rural areas who rule their people wisely and well.

(e) The Governments of both Northern Rhodesia and the Federation to remain in the hands of civilised and responsible persons. This means—that for the foreseeable future the control of the destiny of the Federation and its component parts will remain in the hands of the European.

(f) The complete elimination of the "Colonial Office" and its disturbing and destructive influence over politically immature Africans.

(g) No civil service, administrative, educational, judicial, legal or police post to be filled by anyone other than a British subject unless such person has taken a personal oath of loyalty to the Crown and the Federation.

(h) No person to be admitted to the voters' roll unless he or she is either a British subject or has taken a personal oath of loyalty to the Crown and the Federation. (*Central African Post*, September 6, 1957.)

Land Settlement Plan Rejected¹

The Northern Rhodesia Government announced that it had rejected the recommendations of the Weizmann Report on Land Settlement. The Member for Lands and Local Government, Mr. John Roberts, said that while the cost of transporting the settlers was to be borne by the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration (I.C.E.M.) it was estimated that loans for equipment, stock and other requirements totalling £230,000 would be required.

"While the Government is anxious to encourage land settlement and is taking active steps to do so, it has reached the conclusion that the particular scheme recommended by Dr. Weizmann is not suitable here," he said. (*Central African Post*, September 16, 1957.)

Beer-Hall Boycott²

The beer-hall boycott was called off by Congress leaders but not before violent incidents between police and rioters occurred in Copperbelt towns. Stones were thrown, and thatched roofs were set on fire at Luanshya Roan African township, where the police used tear gas. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 3, 1957.)

A Mufulira magistrate before whom forty-eight Africans appeared on charges of unlawful assembly complained of "too much public disorder and lawlessness". He sentenced one man to nine months' imprisonment and seven others to six months. Forty others were remanded in custody.

At Chingola a police mobile unit arrested twenty-two demonstrators of whom eight were taken to hospital. (*Uganda Argus*, September 21, 1957.)

In Lusaka, Congress asked that beer-halls in the capital should be run

¹DIGEST IV, 1, and V, 2. ²DIGEST IV, 2.

by an African co-operative society and has asked the Broken Hill Society to consider taking over Lusaka beer-halls. (*Bulawayo Chronicle*, September 5, 1957.)

The Provincial Executive of the Central Province called for a boycott throughout the Province unless their demands were complied with. They added that producer co-operative societies should take over the municipal beer-brewing plants.

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, the President of Congress, was refused permission to make a broadcast from Lusaka to Congress leaders in the Copperbelt calling on them to stop the boycott. (*Central African Post*, September 18 and 25, 1957.)

Congress Attacks Politician

The African National Congress passed a resolution calling on Mr. Herbert Chileshe, M.L.C., to resign from the Legislative Council because he had joined the new Constitutional Party and had accepted the fundamental principles of Federation which the chiefs and people of the country bitterly opposed.

Mr. H. Nkumbula, Congress President, said that Mr. Chileshe was put forward as a M.L.C. by the African Representative Council. Mr. Chileshe replied that the African National Congress was neither well disciplined, democratic, tolerant nor constructive.

Meetings Banned

Paramount Chief Chitimukulu of the Bemba tribe has banned for six months all political meetings in the tribal areas where disturbances have taken place (*The Times*, October 24, 1957). Previously a Native Authority council meeting attended by seventeen chiefs, several Native Authority councillors, the Provincial Commissioner and District Commissioners from Kasama, Mporokoso, Luwingu, Mpika and Chinsali had decided that a committee should be set up to look into causes of unrest, and had refused to ban meetings of the African National Congress. (*Central African Post*, September 13, 1957.)

After this first meeting the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. D. B. Hall, held a meeting with Paramount Chief Chitimukulu in Kasama and it was reported that Mr. Hall gave advice to the Paramount Chief. (*African Eagle*, October 8, 1957.)

T.U.C. Rejects Communist Approach

The General Council of the N. Rhodesia African T.U.C. representing over 50,000 African Workers refused an invitation from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions to attend their annual conference in Peking in December.

Mr. J. P. G. Mubanga, the secretary, said the council unanimously declined the offer and added: "We want no part in Communism which we regard as hitting at the very roots of the free trade union system. We have achieved international recognition through the international confederation of free trade unions of which we are a member."

The resignation of Mr. Dixon Konkola from the presidency of the T.U.C. was received with regret. It was reported that Mr. Konkola had gone to a Livingstone mental hospital for observation. (*Pretoria News*, October 9, 1957.)

Mineworker's Leader Re-elected

After a vote of confidence, Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, who has been president of the African Mineworkers' Union since 1948, was re-elected by the supreme council of the Union.

For some months tension has been reported between the Union and the African National Congress. (*Federation Newsletter*, September 2, 1957.)

Criticism of Barotse Native Government

The N. Rhodesian African Affairs Report for 1956 mentioned criticism levelled against the administration by thoughtful and no doubt well-meaning members of the Barotse tribe. "The criticism appears to be against the over-centralization of the Barotse Government, the number of traditional councillors holding office for life, the excessive expenditure on

¹DIGEST V, 2.

personal emoluments and the low standard of ability of some of the members of the Native Administration staff.

"Opposition to the government of the Paramount Chief and his Kuta and popular demand for reforms was most loudly voiced by the Barotse National Society—a self-appointed body outside Barotseland which has never received recognition by the Native Government." (*Central African Post*, September 18, 1957.)

Harvest at Kafue Flats¹

The first wheat crop has been harvested from the Kafue Flats which may one day become the granary and larder of Central Africa. The crop comes from a 1,000 acre pilot polder established on the south bank of the Kafue River by the Rhodesian Selection Trust copper-mining group in an experiment designed to show whether Kafue Flats can be turned into a large-scale irrigation farming area on the Dutch pattern.

The polder is evidence of Sir Ronald Prain's belief that it is the duty of the Northern Rhodesian copper-mining companies to encourage agricultural development in the territory in order to correct to some extent the unbalance its economy brought about by the very rapid development of mining on the Copperbelt. The Northern Rhodesian Government is co-operating to the full in the development of the polder.

During this Rhodesian winter, the polder has had ninety acres under wheat and twenty under barley, as well as 350 small experimental plots. In the coming summer a rice crop—the first of any size in Rhodesia—will be planted and, in future summers, jute, vegetables, and castor-oil crops may also be planted. Half the land will always be devoted to irrigated improved pasture carrying high-grade dairy stock.

The success of the first wheat crop gives cause for considerable optimism, although officials connected with the scheme are careful to point out that it is an experiment of several years' duration and that it is therefore dangerous to draw too many conclusions from the first year's results. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 22, 1957.)

Nyasaland

Prime Minister's Visit

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, has made his first official visit to Nyasaland. Summing it up he said: "Generally I found the African leaders reasonable. I found a lot of opposition to federation, but it was not until I went to Knata Bay that I found an iron curtain," local chiefs and Congress officials refusing to attend informal talks.

"I do not know if they are afraid that I might be able to convert them and their followers. Perhaps they were afraid of hearing the truth."

Sir Roy stressed two points—that Nyasaland would have to find £4 million a year from within itself if it broke away from the Federation, and that while he was Prime Minister he would never be a party to secession. (*Central African Post*, September 30, 1957.)

He also said: "I suppose their opposition has been to some extent our own fault because we have not explained to them what benefits membership of the Federation has brought to Nyasaland." (*Manchester Guardian*, October 3, 1957.)

Bitter opposition of 170,000 Angoni and Atumbuka tribesmen in the Mzimba area to federation was summed up in an address by Paramount Chief Mmbelwa II which was also signed by Chief Mzukuzuka and Inkosi Chinda II. The Paramount Chief said: "Nyasaland—before federation talks—was quiet and maintained only law and order. But during federation very strong misunderstandings between the Government and governed arose because the rights of the latter were not considered. Amidst such misunderstandings, in spite of successive African delegations to the United Kingdom, federation was imposed and this means that Nyasaland belongs to the settler and not to the Africans, for the former favoured federation while the latter did not.

"Federation is still opposed," said the chief, for fear of "Southern Rhodesia's African policies copied from South Africa".

The address also criticized "the high standard of franchise, the granting

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

of a tiny African representation in the Federal Assembly, the citizenship law forcing Africans to change their present status, the transfer of non-African agriculture to the Federal Government, the ban on African leaders' movements within the Federation and theoretical partnership which Lord Malvern divided into senior and inferior—Africans being the latter in their own land." (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 29, 1957.)

The *Central African Examiner* (September 28, 1957) commenting on the Prime Minister's visit said: "It is sad to have to conclude that this visit does not seem to have achieved much . . . It has been the fewness of Africans at his meetings which has stultified his efforts, and the fact that Nyasaland Africans are not even interested in arguing with their Federal Prime Minister should distress him. There were no more than a dozen at a special meeting for Africans in Blantyre; and at the Limbe meeting, which 1,000 people attended on Tuesday, there were not many more Africans, and none asked a question. Attempts to pass this off as proving that they are quiet and contented is a mere exercise in self-delusion."

The fact that Sir Roy talked of the economic benefits of federation put heart into some Europeans, "as indeed his very presence in Nyasaland did. . . . But this is entirely a negative achievement, and hardly the primary objective of his tour. The blame for the major failure can hardly be laid with the African National Congress, for there has been no discernible order for a general boycott. Rather has he been faced with spontaneous disinterestedness."

Constitutional Changes in 1959¹

The *Nyasaland Times* (August 30, 1957), drawing attention to some of the matters that would have to be resolved in 1959 when the present Legislative Council will expire, said: "The first decision to be made is whether or not there should be a non-racial electoral roll and, from that, whether seats should be defined by races. As the Federal proposals will introduce a non-racial roll, this country could not, in all conscience, cling to its present non-African voters' roll. The Federal B roll minimum qualifications might be a useful talking point when it comes to determining the lowest limit of enfranchisement, but it is probable Nyasaland will have to look lower than that. The education qualifications for a territorial vote at present in force could not be simpler and perhaps need to be raised. There no longer exists any objection to giving the British protected person the Federal vote—and it follows the emphasis on British subjects in the territorial franchise need not continue. . . .

"The next decision is on the make-up of the Council. . . . It is not difficult to forecast that African seats, if the present system is maintained, will have to be increased, with parity and perhaps more. This might be achieved on a less racial basis than at present by making the six constituencies of Nyasaland elect one non-African and one African on a common roll. This would bring in twelve ordinary members while a certain number of Africans would still be elected through the Provincial Councils. . . . There is certainly today little objection, found a year or so ago, to the idea of Africans sitting on the Executive Council."

Governor-General Boycotted

Nyasaland African members of the Federal Assembly and of the Legislative Council expressed their dislike of federation with a boycott of all functions held in the four-day visit of the new Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie.

They did not attend the arrival or departure ceremony, nor the garden party in his honour—though other Africans did. One of the members of the Legislative Council, Mr. N. D. Kwenje, said the non-attendance was a political boycott. (*The Times*, November 7, 1957.)

Federalizing Non-African Agriculture²

The Nyasaland Federal Party agreed to support the Nyasaland Farmers' Union in its struggle to bind Federal interests together by federalizing agriculture. Mr. P. Howard voted against the proposal because he thought that federalizing agriculture would increase feeling between Black and White.

Mr. H. B. Chipembere (M.L.C.) commented, in a letter to the Press on the news, that European farmers and some members of the Federal Party

¹DIGEST V, 2. ²DIGEST V, 1.

were angry about the Nyasaland Government's reluctance to federalize non-African agriculture. He said: "May I say, as a representative of African opinion, that this subject is one on which Africans have very strong feelings; and it is pertinent to warn those men who are trying to stampede Zomba officials into this act that there will be very bitter reaction from the African side if Government tries to appease their anger."

"I hope there are no people in this country who believe that Africans are incapable of getting angry. If there are any who think so, they had better think again." (*Nyasaland Times*, August 13 and September 6, 1957.)

Congress Rejects Federation

The Nyasaland African Congress, in a memorandum to the British M.P.s visiting Nyasaland, claimed that events since federation had shown that the lot of the African in a "settler Federation" would be worse than that of his South African brother.

It criticized the British Government for "endeavouring to dishonour protectorate treaties and betray the rights and interests of Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia by imposing federation in the teeth of their opposition".

Among the events the memorandum listed was the rejection by the Federal Parliament of a motion calling for equality for all races in the Federation and of another seeking equal opportunities in the civil service. The memorandum also sought further constitutional reforms in Nyasaland, providing for a Legislative Council of forty members elected by universal adult suffrage. The executive council, now composed mainly of Colonial Office officials, should, it stated, be replaced by a cabinet of eight to twelve members elected by and responsible to the Legislative Council. (*Bulawayo Chronicle*, September 5, 1957.)

Inter-Racial Sport

The presidents of the Nyasaland Football Association and the Nyasaland African Football Association have met for first discussions on the delicate subject of amalgamation. Both presidents were in favour of the move but will report back to their associations to find their views.

The *Nyasaland Times* (September 6, 1957) commented: "It is surprising there has not been more inter-racial sport in the Federation. We understood some time ago the main difficulty in the Federation sending an Olympic team to the Melbourne Olympics was that of race. If that was so, it is to be deplored, for we have always understood there is no barrier in sport of any kind."

Plans for African Education

The Department of Education in its plans for the years 1957-61 proposes to increase the annual intake of African pupils into secondary schools from 120 a year to 270. The annual recurrent expenditure on African education will increase by about £320,000 over the four years to a total of £614,000 on primary and £163,000 on secondary education. During the same period £603,100 will be spent on secondary school buildings and the training of 1,200 teachers. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 24, 1957.)

Nyasa Emigrants

141,900 men or a third of the able-bodied males in Nyasaland were absent from the Protectorate in 1956. Of these it was estimated that 100,000 were in S. Rhodesia, 30,000 in the Union of S. Africa and 11,000 in N. Rhodesia. A Colonial Office report commented: "Large scale migration, even if only temporary, eventually results in the disintegration of family life and in a decaying tribal structure—and once traditional social sanctions disappear they are difficult to replace." (*Federation Newsletter*, September 21, 1957.)

Southern Rhodesia

African National Congress Re-formed

ON September 12, the day reserved for an annual ceremony commemorating the occupation of Rhodesia by a pioneer column in 1890, the inaugural meeting of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress was held in Harari township.

Before the meeting a procession several hundred strong displayed placards reading "Down with police rule"; "Congress will oppose racial discrimination"; "We have no intention of giving this land to someone else."

A small number of Europeans attended the meeting which was addressed by Mr. Dauti Yamba, African Federal M.P. from Northern Rhodesia, and Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock of St. Faith's Mission, Rusape, and by Coloured and Indian speakers.

Mr. Yamba said: "I think the time has come when we should all realize that the British idea is not to give a silent child porridge before he cries. Until you make loud noises the British people will not give you a single advancement."

He understood that members of all races who joined the Congress would be equally treated. He therefore suggested that the word African should be deleted from the title.

Mr. Yamba made an appeal for funds to send a delegation to Britain to discuss the Constitution Amendment Bill with the Government and "to educate the British public". The delegation, he suggested, should consist of Sir John Moffat, the Rev. A. B. Doig and one or two Africans from each of the three territories. He asked everyone to subscribe, and added that perhaps then "we can help the British Empire to preserve peace in Central Africa".

Mr. Clutton-Brock said that he agreed with a suggestion made by the meeting's chairman, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, that "those of us who come from overseas to make our homes in Central Africa should be proud and glad to call ourselves Africans. I am sure there are very many who will do so, and if there is to be peace and progress it is essential that we all call ourselves Africans."

The Congress, he said, had been formed with the highest principles. The organizers were sometimes called agitators—"but it is the duty of every citizen and Christian to be an agitator for justice, righteousness and truth". He congratulated the men behind the Congress's formation, "which I believe in the sight of God to be a good thing".

The officers elected included: General president, Mr. J. N. M. Nkomo; vice-president, Mr. R. J. O. Chikerama; general secretary, Mr. George Nyandoro.

Mr. Nyandoro reported that fifteen Europeans had joined the Congress, and that so far only one branch has been founded outside Salisbury and Bulawayo—at Mrewa. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 13 and October 3, 1957.)

Salisbury African Townships Plan

A twenty-five-year plan for African housing in Salisbury was announced by the Southern Rhodesia Government. It involves the take-over of 12,000 acres within a ten-mile radius of the city centre, on the east, west and south of the city. No estimate of the cost was given, but £300,000 has been provided in this year's estimates. The new sites have been chosen in relation to existing rail lines, as far as the east and west were concerned. "But we expect the power from Kariba to help us to provide electrified railways from these areas to the adjacent industrial areas," said Mr. Ellman-Brown, Minister of Housing. (*Federation Newsletter*, October 5, 1957.)

The Mayor of Salisbury protested against the refusal of the Territorial Government to allow the city to raise loans for Native housing. He said it was estimated that up to 15,000 Africans were sleeping without authority in shacks, outhouses, or friends' quarters. To stop the municipal building programme must be to accentuate the overcrowding, insanitary conditions, and disorder. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 31, 1957.)

Sympathy for Ejected Families

When the Rhodesian Wattle Company was granted an order for the ejection of about 300 Africans from one of their farms in Inyanga district, Mr. Justice Hathorn in the High Court said: "I cannot leave the case without expressing some sympathy for the respondents. If the allegations they have made about the attitude of the authorities are substantially correct they appear to have considerable cause for complaint. It is to be hoped that as the applicant has established its right to eject the respondents

and any other occupiers who are in the same position, the authorities will take steps to make provision for their accommodation."

The Wattle Company stated that the African families were unlawfully occupying the farm. Three of the Africans who opposed the application stated in an affidavit that before 1897 their ancestors occupied the land. From that date to 1948 they continued to occupy the land, "openly, peaceably and without the leave or licence of the then owner and without any claim by the owner that they had no right to live there". (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 9, 1957.)

T.B. on the Increase

A statement from the Federal Ministry of Health said that tuberculosis was "one of the major health problems facing the Ministry in Southern Rhodesia. . . . In recent years T.B. has got its grip on the African population. In 1954 there were about 57 cases per 100,000, in 1955 the figure was more than 82 per 100,000 and last year the corresponding number had jumped to nearly 96."

A spokesman for the Rhodesian Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis said the incidence of T.B. had doubled in the last four years and was still increasing phenomenally.

The Mayor of Salisbury, Mr. L. J. Boshoff, said that the city's lack of housing was allowing an appalling situation to develop. "Africans are crawling into holes, shanties, gutters and hovels anywhere they can in the city. Often enough they are in legitimate employment, but no housing is provided. So long as they have the correct documents and turn up for work at the right time no questions are asked. Thus, we already have squatting. It is only a question of time before we start getting a rash of insanitary shanty towns. It is true we can close down such camps—but experience elsewhere has shown that for every shanty you dismantle, another springs up somewhere else. Meanwhile, Salisbury's crime figures are unquestionably growing more and more serious. The police know this is true and so do I. It is a direct product of our tragic housing situation." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 30, 1957.)

Separate Travel

Officials of the S. Rhodesia African National Congress returning to Salisbury from Bulawayo complained that they were told to get out of a compartment because it was meant for Europeans only. Rhodesia Railways said that five passengers asked for third class accommodation on the Salisbury train. They were told reservations were made only for first and second class. Subsequently they asked for second class accommodation and on consulting the reservation plans for the train the railway official concerned was unable to find accommodation in the class desired. Later, however, the Congress leaders sent a taxi driver with a letter asking for accommodation in the names of N. George, C. J. Roberts, and M. Peters.

Accommodation was then found, explained Rhodesia Railways, "because the accommodation which the railway official had assumed was for the train staff was subsequently found not to be required". Because the passengers who had booked by letter were stated to be Europeans they were accommodated in the same compartment as another European. The conductor of the train asked them to move to one of the compartments not required for the train staff. When they refused to move, accommodation was found elsewhere for the European passenger. . . . In the interests of all races it is obvious that different races, while accommodated in the same class of carriage, should not be placed in the same compartment." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 18, 1957.)

The Salisbury United Omnibus Company has proposed the introduction of composite buses at non-peak hours. The recent commission of inquiry into the public transport systems of Salisbury and Bulawayo set out the case for composite buses.

"What the Salisbury Company seeks leave to do is to operate a convertible composite bus. All the seats would be to first-class standard. The bus would have two entrances—presumably one at each end. During the peak hours the bus would be reserved for Europeans only and there would be no division of the bus into compartments. During off-peak periods, however, a detachable partition would be provided in the middle of the bus, dividing it into two parts. One portion could then be used for European and the other for African passengers. . . . This, it was stated, would

supply a need for the transport of African domestic servants working in the European area, most of whom during peak hours would be employed doing their normal domestic duties."

Evidence showed there would be considerable objection from many European passengers who would not wish to sit on seats previously occupied by Africans. The report pointed out that this prejudice was illogical since the Africans involved would be domestic servants and "in the course of their domestic duties would be likely to come into closer personal contact with their employers than the mere sitting on a seat which the employer is likely to occupy some hours later".

The commission said the companies should exercise the greatest care to ensure that after use as a composite the second-class compartment was most meticulously cleaned and swept. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 11, 1957.)

Future of European Artisans

The Amalgamated Building Trade Union of Matabeleland has expressed concern over the future of European artisans following a report on African bricklayers being employed on a £140,000 municipal hostel contract at Bulawayo. The Union's executive called for Government guarantees for the future of Europeans in the building trade industry. It said: "We are not afraid of the African threatening our livelihood if quality and quantity are considered, but we are alarmed at the difference in pay." The twenty-five African bricklayers working on the Inkunza project were earning 4s. an hour against the basic rate of 7s. 6d. an hour for Europeans. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 4, 1957.)

Cabinet Changes

Mr. H. J. Quinton, M.P. for Mazoe, has been appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. P. B. Fletcher. The Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd, described this appointment as a "definite and determined step to bring the Department of African Agriculture into harmony with Federal agriculture in general". The Departments of Irrigation and Surveys are to come under Mr. Fletcher. Mr. Todd has relinquished the portfolio of African Education which is taken over by Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles, Minister of Internal Affairs.

Studying for the "Bar"

The South Rhodesian Minister of Justice, Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles, has announced that Africans who apply for certificates allowing them to buy European spirits will have to produce a university degree as an educational qualification. The Liquor Act was recently amended to allow Africans to buy European beer and wines and to provide for Africans to get exemptions in certain cases to allow them to buy spirits. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 12, 1957.)

EAST AFRICA Kenya

The End of the Lyttelton Constitution

FOLLOWING on the resignation of three European and two Asian Ministers on November 7, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, declared the Lyttelton Constitution to be unworkable. At a press conference in Nairobi the following day he said: "I have had many talks with the various groups and with Ministers on the constitutional position in which I have done my utmost to create a situation in which local agreement was possible. . . . But it was not to be.

"I have been inhibited from taking an initiative in this matter by the undertaking given by Her Majesty's Government at the time of the wise settlement arranged by my predecessor in 1954. . . . Neither I nor my predecessor have ever considered the refusal of any one racial group to abide by these arrangements would necessarily make them unworkable. I have now, however, been informed that European and Asian Elected Ministers have reached the conclusion that the present lack of effective understanding, if it persists for long, will not be to the advantage of Kenya

and they have therefore decided that the interests of Kenya would best be served by my being free to take the initiative. For this purpose they have tendered their resignations to the Governor."

Giving a general outline of the constitutional changes he intended, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said: "These intentions are clear and definite. Subject to Her Majesty's pleasure, I will arrange for them to be expressed subsequently in proper constitutional form which will incorporate any consequential changes of detail. . . . I recognize that on merit the African population is under-represented (in the Legislative Council) in terms of members returned by a communal electorate, in relation to other groups. I therefore intend to provide for the addition of six such seats for the African population from constituencies subsequently determined. It is also intended to provide for one seat on the Government Bench to be filled by a Nominated Representative from the Northern Province. . . . It is further intended that the two seats at present filled by Corporate members shall not remain beyond 1960.

"To reduce the disparity between Government and non-Government sides of the House and to provide a place in the Legislative Council for the Minister who draws support from more than community, I intend to provide for the creation now of twelve additional seats, four to be filled by Europeans, four by Africans and four by Asians, of whom one shall be an Arab, one an Asian Muslim and two Indians who are not Muslims. These seats will be filled through election by the whole Legislative Council sitting as an Electoral College, voting by free and secret ballot. The method of nominating candidates for election to these seats will be decided later.

"The number of such seats designed to provide representation not based on purely communal electorates may be increased during the next ten years, but during this period the proportions between and within the groups which I have indicated will not be varied. In addition any alteration in the total number of seats, or in the method of filling them, will be subject to the approval of the Council of State to which I will refer later.

"These additional seats of all kinds may add considerably to the non-Government side of the House. Provision will be made to ensure that His Excellency will at all times be able to appoint such numbers of Nominated Members as will secure an adequate Government majority. In any future expansion of the Legislative Council there will be no additional seats based on election by purely communal electorates.

"Once the extra African seats and non-communal seats proposed have been filled, two Ministers will be selected from African members. Of the two African Ministers, one will hold the portfolio of Housing and the other a portfolio which will include adult education and community development. The European and Asian Ministers without portfolio will be given defined responsibilities. It will be seen that the total size of the Council of Ministers remains as fixed in 1956.¹

"The division of Ministerial Offices as between members of Public Services and Unofficials will remain as at present, subject to the Governor's discretion to make adjustment in the burden of responsibility carried by individual Ministers. The portfolios of Finance and of Forest Development, Game and Fisheries may be filled from within or without the Public Service. Of the remaining Unofficial Ministers four will be European, two African and two Asian. The position of Adviser on Arab Affairs who is entitled to participate in the Council of Ministers will remain unchanged. . . .

"In order to protect any one community against discriminatory legislation harmful to its interests there will be created a Council of State with certain defined powers of delay, revision and reference. I shall, in consultation with my colleagues and with the Governor, determine the powers, functions and composition of the Council of State. It will be convened whenever the occasion arises to exercise its functions. . . .

"These arrangements taken as a whole make many changes in the existing Constitution as introduced in 1954. But an important feature of that Constitution namely the presence of elected Ministers on the Council of Ministers, is preserved. I believe these arrangements should command the support of the responsible people of all communities. I pray that they will give the people of Kenya of all races an opportunity of constructive and co-operative endeavour and a long period of stability and peace."

The *East African Standard* (November 9, 1957) commented: "This is

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not an agreement to be accepted or amended locally; it is a decision from H.M. Government. The will of the Government will not be subject to party waverings. No doubt there will be criticism, but radical surgery is out of the question. . . .

"With the disappearance of Corporate Members (by 1960), Europeans and Africans will have parity of communal seats at fourteen. Having decided to axe Corporate Members, why delay until 1960? These six seats are not the entire African gain because, having recognized the merit of the case that the African population is under-represented, four 'selected' seats are allocated making an extra ten in all, not counting the Nominated Member for the Northern Province. This is a substantial advance which African members can regard with satisfaction.

"The four-apiece proportional system among the 'selected' seats is the place for organic growth, a provision in accord with the trend of public opinion which is moving away from the conception of communal representation. These twelve seats provide the prelude for a process of development towards a qualitative common roll. In that sense they are embryonic, because all Members will vote in an electoral college, returning 'selected' candidates with wider responsibilities than merely racial ties. . . .

"By closing the devil's playground of racially political strife, Mr. Lennox-Boyd wants to dispel the acrimony that resulted in deadlock. He goes far to re-establish confidence in British determination to keep a firm hold on the residual responsibilities for Kenya's destiny."

Cyril Dunn writing from Nairobi in the *Observer* (November 10, 1957) said: "The record may give the impression that a patriotic gesture by the European and Asian elected Ministers alone made it possible for the Colonial Secretary to act. The Africans had already refused to serve in the Council of Ministers, as part of their fight for constitutional change. Yesterday the European and Asian Ministers resigned as well, officially because they found current 'lack of understanding' bad for Kenya. But the fact seems to be that the Asian Ministers were almost on the point of resigning anyway—in direct support of the Africans. And a Constitution held to be workable without African Ministers could scarcely have seemed so without Asians either.

"The African members have already demanded a majority in the Legislative Council and the new plan offers them no more than parity with European elected members and a minority on the Council of Ministers. They naturally look upon the latter as the more important theatre of operations. Secondly the plan provides for a Council of State. This device has already been suggested by Europeans as a way of restraining the Africans politically and so cannot expect much of an African welcome. . . . The Colonial Secretary was unable to tell me whether or not this Council would be multiracial, though he hoped it would be a body of people whose race was of an importance secondary to that of their wisdom."

The European members are recommending approval in principle of the new plan, though they are openly critical of the proposal to grant—in effect—ten more African seats. On the other hand, Mr. N. S. Mangat, president of the Kenya Indian Congress, said the new constitution was "a fine example of sagacious statesmanship".

Mr. C. B. Madan, until his resignation Asian Minister without Portfolio, said that the new system of selected seats was the beginning of a common roll. It was a decided advance. "I would ask the peoples of Kenya," he said, "not to judge the new constitutional arrangements in terms of racial gains and losses, but as a scheme worked out by a Secretary of State who has left no doubt that his only anxiety is to restore a state of political stability." (*The Times*, November 11, 1957.)

The *Times* (November 14, 1957) reported that the eight African elected members had decided to reject the proposals for constitutional changes. The African members' statement said that since there was a recognition of the African case for increased representation on its merits, the anomaly could be rectified by the British Government convening a constitutional conference, preceded by a report by a constitutional expert and presided over by an impartial expert.

The statement criticized the proposals point by point and said: "We fully appreciate the weight of the decision we have made and are also fully aware of the criticisms to which we shall be subjected for thus appearing to reject even one possible advantage to our community." The statement said that the African members were not surprised that the European members

had accepted the proposals . . . they thought the current proposals ensured a future for them and there would be no Ghana. "Taking Ghana as a democracy with universal franchise as its basis, one must ask what is the alternative that the Europeans offer—a Central African or a South African regime?"

The statement said that the members' ultimate objective was undiluted democracy based on universal suffrage. Europeans and Asians already enjoyed that franchise. The African members believed that neither the Lyttelton Constitution nor the present proposals would lead towards that objective. They had always acknowledged that Europeans and Asians had rights which must be recognized and fears and suspicions which should not be overlooked. They had also stated that the situation in Kenya could not change overnight and they had consequently accepted development through transition. They had accepted the case for safeguards in principle though feeling there was no urgency while the country was still under Colonial Office rule and believing, too, that in the last analysis goodwill was the only true and lasting safeguard.

On the proposal for a Council of State, the African members said: "This we consider to be unnecessary since ultimate control is still vested in the British Government in addition to the fact that the Governor has veto powers and the Government has a majority in the Legislature."

A Ten-Year Plan

Miss Margery Perham in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (November 5, 1957) listed six major issues which constitutional provisions in Kenya must meet during the next ten years. These were:

"1. The Africans, assured of their goal, will rightly demand an open and energetic policy of advancement and of education in the widest sense, especially in responsibility of all kinds. They will also demand that, in the interval, the power of the minorities will not be built into the Constitution. Only by such assurances can constructive African leadership be helped to hold its own against the destructively emotional forces which are latent.

"2. The Europeans—among whom, it is worth remembering, the farmers are in a minority—require protection for their legitimate and established interests and also the continued opportunity to play their disproportionately valuable part in the life of the Colony.

"3. The Asians have the same needs as the Europeans.

"4. The Arabs have, morally and by treaty, their own claim to protection.

"5. The Civil Service has urgent need of a clear goal for its work and of firm leadership and support on the way to that goal.

"6. Investors, private and public, British and foreign, are desperately needed by this poor country but, on their side, require the attraction of at least ten years' security."

Miss Perham continued: "How can these six needs be met? Only by one agency. That is the British Government. This is the only authority which, I believe, all the conflicting groups in Kenya will accept. There should be a halt to the policy, represented by the Lyttelton Constitution, of transferring power at an unforeseeable pace to a council of mixed races and heterogeneous responsibility. This does not mean that members of all races should not be given important places in the Constitution or that the Legislative Council should not be increased, especially in its proportion of Africans. But if it could be known, and accepted by both parties in Britain, that the Government had no intention, for at least ten years, of drifting into some kind of 'self-government' there would be an immediate easing of tension with less feverish counting of heads in council and of the numbers and kinds of voters in constituencies.

"The ten years would not, of course, be easy ones but they might avoid being sanguinary. Each of them would see more educated Africans coming forward; more experience in racial co-operation of all kinds; more time for Africans to appreciate the contribution of the minorities; more time for the minorities to decide whether the new Kenya which they were still helping to create was the kind of country to which they could commit their children."

Land Policy

Mr. Michael Blundell, Minister of Agriculture under the Lyttelton Constitution, in the course of a speech on the major issues facing Kenya

said: "The Government is bound to make no changes in matters of land policy and land tenure and has no intention of making any changes. . . . Nevertheless the people of this country and future Governments will have to re-examine the whole concept of land tenure, and, as we have a period of stability in land matters ahead of us, I would like to use it for a dispassionate examination of the problem both from our own and African public opinion.

"We should begin to think nationally on land, and consider it an essential national and economic asset, if we are to develop the economy of Kenya on a basis which will meet the demands which the country is making upon it. For instance, some of the finest tea land in the world is sterilized because of lack of knowledge by the Africans of how to use it. I think that we and the African people should begin to consider some way in which the potential wealth inherent in many of our land areas can be released to better advantage, through the use of Western money and technical development to the benefit of the country as a whole. You have examples in the development of the oil industry in some countries in the Middle East where, through the use of Western capital and skill, immense benefits have come to the Arab peoples without any loss of their inherent rights and independence.

"Secondly, we, who often claim the leadership of the country, must accept the responsibility of examining the problems which are arising out of the development of the country on a wider basis than that merely of race. Profound changes are taking place in land tenure in the African areas, and individual holdings are being created daily. For a number of reasons these individual holdings must be small."

Speaking of the European farms in the White Highlands, Mr. Blundell said: "Development has reached a very high pitch indeed. The best of our farming is probably ahead of any farming in Africa at present. As Minister for Agriculture I have said that the further expansion of this development is possible . . . but only with the injection of more capital, which will enable more intense production per acre to be achieved, and the necessary development of our technical know-how, together with a sense of security. Even without these factors the contribution of the settled areas of the Highlands to the economy of Kenya is overwhelming. The settled areas occupy less than a quarter of the areas of high potential and produce three-quarters of the wealth which flows into the economy of the country from agriculture. The remaining three-quarters of this high potential area is entirely in the African land units and produces barely a quarter of the agricultural economy.

"A further point in regard to the settled areas is that 95 per cent of all land now under production is in individual ownership. This means that much of the uninformed talk about the Highlands is not about undeveloped blocks of Crown lands but about people's individual properties, to which they are entitled as much as anyone else. Indeed, if, for instance, the Highlands Board was abolished tomorrow not one single acre in 95 per cent of the settled areas need change hands unless the owners decide to allow it. In this respect they are masters of their fate.

"In an age of racial emotionalism I would like to ask the people of Kenya, both European and African, to move their ideas on land away from the emotional tribal or racial sphere to those of economics and the national well-being. The African in this country needs us just as much as we need him, and there is no real clash of interests between us. Much of the supposed clash starts from the raising of artificial barriers. . . .

"I should like to go to the African people, among whom are many moderate men not greatly concerned with politics, and say to them: 'We are here, our homes and children are here, and so are you and yours. Let us pool our resources for the national good and the advancement of the country as a whole. Both races have the same interest in land, which must fundamentally be good land usage and the rights of individual property where these exist. In other words, we are prepared to consider lowering the land barriers if you will do the same on the lines of the Royal Commission Report.' " (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, November 7, 1957.)

The Last of the Mau Mau

The Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, opening the Legislative Council, said that no effort was being spared in rounding up the remaining terrorists, who included one "leader of note", because their continued freedom was

"a bar to the full return of peacetime conditions". He added: "Because of their small number, the skill they have gained in concealing themselves and the great extent of the territory in which they are hiding, the task may be a long one."

Sir Evelyn said that the task of rehabilitating many detainees and Mau Mau convicts had been difficult, but remarkable success had been gained. In under three years, no fewer than 58,000 had been released. There had been no resulting disorder, nor had it been necessary to detain for a second time under the emergency regulations any of those released.

It would be apparent, the Governor continued, that it would not be possible to release the men remaining in custody without the same detailed inquiry and careful consideration which each individual case had received in the past. Indeed, since they now had to deal with those who were the most profoundly disaffected, it was more than ever important that they should exercise caution. "We cannot risk any return to the reign of terror that is still so fresh in all our minds," he declared. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 24, 1957.)

The Right Rev. L. J. Beecher, Bishop of Mombasa, speaking in London, said that nothing short of expert psychiatric treatment would be of any use in restoring the hard core of detained Mau Mau members to proper citizenship.

"At the present moment they are refusing to co-operate in any way, but it is surprising to see the number of formerly detained Mau Mau who have passed through rehabilitation centres and have not defected after release." (*The Times*, October 1, 1957.)

Six Kikuyu detainees described as hard core Mau Mau, were sentenced to death by the Supreme Court for the murder in August of an African warder at Manyani detention camp.¹ Five other Kikuyu who were jointly charged were found Not Guilty. The murder was alleged to have been committed during a riot at the camp after an attempt by the authorities to segregate the detainees in one compound. (*The Times*, October 29, 1957.)

According to the Colonial Office Report on Kenya the number in emergency detention camps at the end of 1956 was 31,532, a reduction of 13,415 since the end of 1955, and the number of establishments in use was reduced by eight, to forty-one.

Prison Officers Acquitted

Three prison officers were found Not Guilty in the Supreme Court in Nairobi on charges of beating and inflicting grievous bodily harm on two Mau Mau detainees at the Athi River detention camp. The officers were Camp Commandant Cyril Robert Harrison and John Mathers Brownlee and John Baxter Wood Leslie.

In his summing up Mr. Justice Connell told the jury of five men that they had to consider the situation in the camp on the morning of the alleged beatings. The question was "Did they inflict these beatings to prevent a threatened riot or to force the detainees to work?"

At the hearing Brownlee admitted that he and Leslie beat the detainees. "We did so to shut them up," he said. "They were howling the Mau Mau battle cry and when they stopped making the cry we stopped beating them." Harrison, who had not been present when the beatings were administered, said, "The war cry meant trouble with the detainees and it's been my experience that every riot we've had was started with the war cry." (*Manchester Guardian*, November 2, 1957.)

Population and Higher Education

The Annual Report on Kenya, 1956,² published a table showing that the European population has increased from 27,500 in 1947 to 57,700 in 1956. During the same period the Indian and Goan population has grown from 93,400 to 151,900 and the Arabs from 23,800 to about 33,000. The African population is said to be almost 6 million.

Of the 1,155 Kenyans of all races studying overseas 726 are Asian, 260 European, 157 African and 12 Arab. At Makerere College, Uganda, there are 213 Africans and 12 Asians.

¹DIGEST V, 2. ²H.M.S.O., 7s. 6d.

Tanganyika

Mr. Lennox-Boyd's Visit

SPEAKING in Dar es Salaam, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said that the immigrant communities were not in Tanganyika on sufferance, but had rights which must be protected. The idea that they were not entitled to regard themselves as Tanganyikans was unacceptable. H.M. Government in the United Kingdom, in its responsibility for the administration of Tanganyika, "would not be deflected from their purpose or their judgement of what was right and best by any criticism which was apparently based on misconception, inexperience, or prejudice". Referring to African political elements which had acted subversively in some areas, the Secretary of State declared that the Government was determined to maintain law and order.

At the opening of the Mbeya Exploration Company's new plant Mr. Lennox-Boyd urged African leaders to drive home to their people that such enterprises as those in which the Company was engaged would help to pay for education and other essential things. African individuals and Native Councils could make their contribution by putting land at the disposal of such companies. "All who have responsibilities in Tanganyika and claim the privileges of leadership should watch with the closest interest this exciting work of exploration," he said. Pyrochlore, discovered at Panda Hill by British geologists, had been developed by Dutch private enterprise in partnership with the Colonial Development Corporation, and most of the construction work had been carried out by Anglo-Italian firms. The policy was to employ as many Africans as possible, and he was sure that it would be a splendid example of inter-racial co-operation. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 31, 1957.)

U.T.P. Policy

A Statement of Policy issued by the United Tanganyika Party at its second convention made the following points: To secure independence Tanganyika must achieve an advance which will ensure that as a self-governing country she can provide for the economic and educational needs of her people. . . . It is clear that land must be opened up. . . .

The solution of the land tenure problem is the key to the solution of most of the problems confronting the territory. Until the Government produces a definite and unequivocal policy in regard to land tenure the attitude of mind of the African will be coloured by his lack of security in regard to Government's intentions regarding land. No lead has been given on this fundamental question as yet, and the U.T.P. calls upon the Government to take immediate steps to produce new land tenure legislation and to take deliberate steps to encourage the emergence of individual tenure. It also calls upon Government to provide the finance necessary to make adjudications of rights of land and regards this as a first priority for funds. In this connexion Government is urged to take immediate steps to produce a territorial land development plan with stated priorities, so that as and when funds become available no time need be lost in putting the work in hand.

Agriculture—The U.T.P. believes in opening up the potentially fertile belts of land as defined by the Royal Commission on East Africa.

Aid from Abroad—The U.T.P. recognizing the urgent need for capital, skill, and professional knowledge to develop Tanganyika, urges a positive policy of encouraging capital and persons who can contribute to the advancement of the country to enter the country, so that secondary industries may be established and the general economy stimulated to the advantage of the inhabitants of Tanganyika.

Communications—The first fundamental requirement of Tanganyika is large capital sums, which cannot be found inside the territory, to open up the country's communications.

Taxation—The U.T.P. believes that the present high incidence of taxation is a direct obstacle to development and that subsidies should be given for measures of fertilization, soil conservation, and irrigation methods, which increase production and improve land.

Wages—The U.T.P. believes that low wages and low productivity are a direct discouragement to economic progress, and that all employers

are in duty bound to encourage greater efficiency and productivity on the part of their employees and raise wages accordingly.

Constitutional Advance—The U.T.P. calls on Government to declare their policy for the step-by-step evolution towards self-government for Tanganyika as a Dominion member of the British Commonwealth under which economic, educational, and political progress would be linked together and a realistic target date set for the achievement of self-government. Further constituencies should be created which would be single member constituencies. Thus it would be possible for any Tanganyikan to fight an election and convince the electorate of his merits. This development recognizes the fact that parity is not a permanent feature of the constitution and provides the means of departure from it on a non-racial basis.

Franchise—The party believes in universal adult franchise, achieved gradually on the basis of a qualitative vote.

Education—The party supports the principle of multi-racial education as soon as practicable at each level on terms of complete economic and social equality.

Consultative Second Chamber—The U.T.P. congratulates the Government on calling a council of chiefs, and urges that the most serious consideration should be given to the establishment of a constitutional status for a consultative upper house to include in its membership people of all races who are outstanding citizens of the country. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 3, 1957.)

Immigrants' Position Discussed

Sheikh Hussein Juma, Chairman of the U.T.P., in a letter to *The Times* (October 8, 1957) said that when considering the political and economic facts in his country it was "nonsense" to count heads.

"One per cent of the cultivated land was held by a handful of immigrants; they produced £18,500,000 worth of exports compared with £17 m. produced by the African population of over eight million. Now it has become increasingly obvious to Africans not pursuing a narrow racial and nationalist policy, that economically the immigrants are vital and if Tanganyika is to develop we need more such aid, not less. But the immigrants will not stay as second-class citizens under a purely African government. It is, therefore, in acknowledgement of the contributions which immigrants have made, are now making, and will continue to make, that we seek a non-racial society in which we are 'equal and Tanganyikans' rather than 'immigrants and Africans'. Mr. Nyerere says his party does not wish to get rid of the immigrants . . . what he has actually said is this: 'We shall always welcome such immigrants as missionaries and public servants of every type whose services are considered essential for the rapid development of our country. We shall also welcome immigrants who come to our country for the purpose of setting up specific industries or for doing business with us. Here there is the general difference that the settler is not so much the person as the industry or business itself, and the person is usually an employee who, like the Civil Servant, has no intention of making Tanganyika his home. To these three classes of immigrants we have no objection. But we are opposed to the farmer class of immigrant, which is largely European, and the general class of immigrant, which is largely from Asia. These people are of doubtful value to the country.' Thus," Sheikh Hussein added, "it is obvious . . . that Mr. Nyerere seeks an African state in which, by good grace, immigrants who are now there may remain if they can; but since they are either farmers or of the 'general class of Asian immigrant' to which Mr. Nyerere has made it clear he objects, we would like to know how they can in fact remain. It does not take an economic degree to know that Tanganyika cannot develop without immigrant skill and investment. In return we offer them a chance to make their home with us. Any other course is disastrous for Tanganyika."

Mr. R. G. Page, M.P. (Conservative), who recently visited Tanganyika, said: "Sheikh Hussein Juma's letter today is a timely warning of the political and economic pitfalls which lie ahead in Tanganyika if no safeguards can be devised for the security of minorities—minorities without whom the territory would be an undeveloped wilderness. I do not believe that any effective safeguards can be devised."

"Let us not cloud the issues by using such vague descriptions of the ultimately intended State as multi-racial or non-racial. Let us be frank and admit that if responsible government and later self-government were

granted Tanganyika would by sheer force of numbers be an African State. The most that can be meant by saying that it will be non-racial is that it is hoped that there will be no discrimination against residents who are of non-African races. It is difficult to see how that hope can possibly be realized in face of the avowed policy of the African political party T.A.N.U. led by Mr. Nyerere, that 'immigrants' will be treated merely on sufferance."

Mr. Page said that as the result of his recent extensive tour of the territory he had reached the conclusions that (1) anything approaching responsible government for Tanganyika would mean government by T.A.N.U.; (2) that T.A.N.U. has all the faults of the most immature of political parties and would be driven into intense pro-Africanism by the very pressures which it has created in order to gain a political recognition; (3) that there would thus be racial discrimination resulting in the collapse of commerce, both retail and wholesale, the flight of investment capital and the breakdown of social services; (4) that the Africans cannot find—now or I believe in a generation—among their 8½ million inhabitants one minute fraction of the number of qualified persons necessary to take over government and development, trade and the professions; and (5) that it would be a cowardly breach of the trust under which we administer the territory for us to abandon the Africans themselves, to say nothing of non-Africans, to the mercies of the wilder African politician who would quickly supersede the present T.A.N.U. leadership.

At present it seems to be beyond the wit of man to devise safeguards for the security of minorities when giving responsible government to a politically immature electorate. We should therefore say firmly that no such government will be granted until that electorate has reached the stage of political maturity in which such safeguards are superfluous. The sincerity of our efforts to bring the Tanganyikan African to that stage of political maturity cannot be doubted. (*The Times*, October 11, 1957.)

Mr. Julius Nyerere, president of T.A.N.U., replying to Sheikh Hussein said: "The danger to Tanganyika's peaceful democratic development appears to me to be in the possibility that U.T.P.'s extremists, who, as Sheikh Hussein points out, include settlers who hold a vast proportion of Tanganyika's wealth, will not be satisfied with their role of mere Tanganyikan. They have grown used to a privileged position, and in some industries, for instance sisal, have built their fortunes on a system which has allowed and allows a man with a family to be paid £20 for a year's hard work. So far they have effectively prevented the organization of trade unions able to insist on fair conditions. These aspirants to 'a share in the equity' (a phrase often on Sir Edward Twining's lips) rightly suspect that in a democratic Tanganyika they would lose such 'privileges'. Is this perhaps what the Sheikh means when he says they will become second-class citizens? If not, will he kindly elaborate this enigmatic remark?"

"If Sheikh Hussein Juma can convert some of his extremists to democratic ways of thinking, he and I will doubtless find even larger areas of agreement. But I suggest that he is handicapped by the large contributions extremists make to U.T.P.'s party funds. In this respect I am more fortunate, since T.A.N.U.'s 'extremists' tend to be in the £20 a year group and are not in a position to buy support for their views." (*The Times*, October 29, 1957.)

Sir Eldred Hitchcock, chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers Association, wrote: "Mr. Nyerere's reference to the wages of African workers on sisal estates begs so many questions that it is impossible to deal with it in a short letter. It must suffice to say that if housing, food, medical attention and other costs in kind are reckoned, the resulting picture is a very different one from the basic cash wage which he quotes for the lower grade of agricultural labour; there are numbers of African workers on these estates who earn very substantially more, especially if they are prepared to work more than three to four hours a day, which is the normal out turn."

"This issue is also related to the uncertain and low price level of tropical commodities. If the general level of prosperity of those employed in tropical agriculture is to be improved, a higher and more stable price of tropical primary products is an outstanding necessity and that applies particularly to sisal."

"The sisal industry of Tanganyika is engaged at the moment in working out a system of joint consultation with its workers, which will associate

them in the determination of their working conditions, including wages. The industry is not opposed to trade unionism in principle, and members of trade unions will no doubt be included as representatives of the sisal workers on these joint consultative bodies." (*The Times*, November 7, 1957.)

Legislative Council Enlarged

The number of members in the Legislative Council has been increased from sixty-one to sixty-seven and the life of the present Council has been extended from three to five years. The composition of the Council will now be thirty-four on the official side and thirty-three on the unofficial side. The first elections—in five of the ten constituencies—will take place next September, and in the remaining five constituencies within the following twelve months. (*The Times*, November 9, 1957.)

Following on the acceptance by three Africans, Mr. Julius Nyerere, Chief Thomas Marelle and Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, of the Governor's nominations to the Legislative Council,¹ it was announced that other new Members were:

Miss Bertah Akim (a Nominated Member)—educated at Makerere College and Holyoak College, U.S.A.;

Mr. Allaudin Alibhai (Representative Member, Lake Province)—served in local government and is the Aga Khan's estate manager in Lake Province;

Mrs. Joan Stuart Davis (Nominated Member)—born in India and educated in England at Sherborne School for Girls, and served on the Morogoro Town Council;

Mr. Sidney Robertson (Representative Member, Lake Province)—employed by the Tanganyika Cotton Company;

Mr. Juma Salum (Representative Member, Western Province)—served in the Education Department and is a member of Tabora Township Authority;

Mr. S. T. Thanki (Representative Member, Southern Province)—a prominent businessman and first chairman of Lindi Town Council; and

Mr. Erahim Sheriff Dewji (Representative Member, Northern Province)—a partner in a Zanzibar firm which has branches in Arusha, Tanga, and Moshi. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 3, 1957.)

Future Partnership with Nyasaland

Mr. Clyde Sanger writing in the *Central African Examiner* (October 12, 1957) discussed the Nyasaland Africans' wish to secede from the Federation and be linked with Tanganyika. He said this "would represent a marriage of poorish cousins. The gross national product of Tanganyika in 1954 (the latest year for which figures are available) was £144 million, under half that of the Federation; and, while Tanganyika's figure was being improved by about 6 per cent annually, the Federation's improvement has been almost exactly double that, from 1954-56. The poorer of the two countries is undoubtedly Nyasaland: Tanganyika, with its population estimated at 8,300,000 last year, has an annual income of £18 a head; Nyasaland, with 2,600,000, has only half that amount. Trade between the two countries is negligible (partly because their products are similar) and the Lake Nyasa barge traffic capacity is little more than 12,000 tons annually. . . .

"Farmers in the Mbeya district of the Southern Highlands, 700 miles from the Copperbelt and Dar-es-Salaam, sometimes look eagerly to the former as a market for foodstuffs. But bad communications at present make it generally cheaper for the Copperbelt to buy from Southern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo and for the farmers to send their produce to Dar-es-Salaam.

"That is the present picture, but there exists an underground inheritance which may make these two cousins rich, and so alter radically the whole picture. As well as the Rungwe coalfields, there are rich coal and iron fields near the Ruhuhu River, east of Lake Nyasa. Government officials admit to 'cautious optimism' that a German firm may soon decide that the likely coal profits would make it worth their spending £18 million in extending the old groundnuts railway from Mtwara. Again, the Anglo American Corporation, together with the British South Africa Company, Tanganyika Concessions, and the Newmont Mining Corporation, have

¹DIGEST V, 2.

recently formed the Western Rift Exploration Company with exclusive prospecting rights over 34,000 square miles, and with their headquarters in Chunya.

"If minerals are found in workable form in the Southern Province and an iron and steel industry begins just east of Lake Nyasa, the economic—and possibly the political—implications could be great. Nyasaland could supply a big labour force for these industries, the Lake ports and transport would be developed and the two territories would have a genuine, and not just a sentimental, link. Minerals may also be found in Nyasaland in rich enough quantity for her own dowry to seem attractive. But, at this moment, the only Tanganyikans directly concerned with Nyasaland are the Rungwe rice-farmers, whose land suffered from excessive flooding when the Liwonde Bund across the Shire River raised the level of Lake Nyasa too high in August. Their claim for £20,000 damages is hardly a good augury for any future partnership."

Uganda

Direct Elections¹ and Future Policy

WHILE in Kampala, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, said: "It will be in the best interests of the political future of Uganda that direct elections for the African Representative Members in the Legislative Council should be introduced next year in all areas that want them, with the exception of Karamoja. . . . As for the future, Her Majesty's Government is fully convinced that the electoral machinery to be set up for the 1961 elections should be based on the introduction of a common roll at that time."

He added that Her Majesty's Government regarded it as its duty to ensure that non-African communities had "a proper part in the government of the country". He said his 1955 statement that there should be no major constitutional changes until 1961 did not mean self-government for Uganda in 1961. "Such changes as may be agreed in 1961 will be a step towards self-government. But 1961 has in no sense been accepted as a target date for self-government."

Questioned about what form minority representation might take when the common roll was introduced, he said there were a number of possibilities—such as nomination, or communal roll franchise in certain districts. But he would like first to see these discussed in Uganda after Uganda's first direct elections in 1958.

He agreed there was much discussion about the position of Uganda's Native Rulers, and said he was a very strong believer in maintaining their dignity and prestige. "My own feeling is that in a territory the size of Uganda and composed of territories which do not lend themselves to a federal structure, a federal solution would not be a wise one." Mr. Lennox-Boyd said there were other ways of recognizing individuality and diversity but underlying unity. But whatever might emerge, the position of the Rulers "must certainly be preserved".

Representatives of the African Press boycotted his Press conference after protesting that Mr. Lennox-Boyd had "refused to discuss present controversial issues with African Representative Bodies." (*Uganda Argus*, October 11, 1957.)

The Colonial Secretary's statement came after a four-day debate in the Legislative Council which by thirty-four votes to twenty approved a motion accepting the principle of common roll elections in the Protectorate in 1961, with "adequate and effective" safeguards for the non-African minorities. All the African Representative Members and three African back-benchers voted against the Government.

Many of the African Members who opposed the motion said the time was inopportune and that the discussion about minority representation should be postponed until after the 1958 elections. Mrs. Kisosonkole, a Government back-bencher, said that a lot had been heard about the benefits which the minorities had brought to Africans. "We do not grudge our non-African friends for having done well in the past while the Africans were still ignorant," she said. "But there is no need for them to be self-righteous about it and pretend that they were doing everything for the

¹DIGEST V, 2.

benefit of the Africans. We cannot base this debate on the deeds or misdeeds of any of us in the past." (*Uganda Argus*, October 4 and 6, 1957.)

The Uganda Progressive Party had proposed that the rights of the minorities should be guaranteed by a Bill of Rights inserted in the Constitution and that, rather than reserving seats on a racial basis, some of the seats not open to candidates in the general election should go to representatives of Chambers of Commerce which would be a fair way of securing the voice of businessmen in the council. (*Uganda Argus*, September 30, 1957.)

Protest Against Police Bill

A letter signed by representatives of the Progressive Party, Uganda National Congress, All Buganda Party, Buganda Electors' Union, United Congress Party, Uganda Review Party, Uganda Nationalist Movement and the Democratic Party claimed that the proposed Police Bill was provocative. The Bill would compel political parties to notify the police in advance of meetings.

The letter said: "We protest to the Government in the strongest possible terms against the Bill and hope that wise counsels will prevail to stop the Government from passing a law that will take away one of the fundamental rights—freedom of assembly and association regarded as sacred by the whole of the free world." (*Uganda Argus*, September 27, 1957.)

Fines for Insulting the Kabaka¹

After court hearings lasting a year, Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, president of the Progressive Party, and Mr. D. Kajana, chairman of the Kyadondo Electoral College, were convicted and fined on charges of calling a meeting with the intention of insulting the Kabaka publicly. Both said they would appeal. The Magistrate, referring to evidence that statements had been made at the meeting that the Kabaka "had no power", said that the fact that the Kabaka had been made a constitutional monarch did not remove his powers from him. He said that the whole of Buganda tradition was that the Kabaka's power exceeded everything.

African Disunity Criticized

Mr. Abu Mayanja, one of the founders of the Uganda National Congress, paid a short visit to Uganda on his way back from visiting India, where he met Mr. Nehru, to Britain where he is studying Law.

Mr. Mayanja talking of the split between the Uganda National Congress Party and the United Congress Party² said: "Disunity among Africans is a luxury we cannot afford. We are all agreed on our objective of self-government and on the methods to be used. I can see no reason for a plethora of political parties and I believe that personalization of politics is a dangerous game." He added that it was not surprising that the Protectorate Government should take advantage of "our disunity" to impose policies calculated to "hinder our development towards independence". He gave as examples the Government moves on the common roll, the Police Ordinance and the Press plan.

Asked whether he would stand for election next year, Mr. Mayanja said that he would if he qualified for it, and his party would like to adopt him as a candidate. Mr. Mayanja said he regretted the various disputes which had arisen in different parts of Uganda, such as Bunyoro's "lost counties", the differences of opinion about the position of the Rulers, religious disputes, and the name to be used for an independent Uganda. "All these things should be left until we are independent and in a position to settle them without interference."

Replying to a question about federation of East African territories, he said he believed not only in federation but in a "United States of Africa".

Later Mr. Mayanja referred to "the important condition" on which he based his support of federation. "This condition is that the East African territories must first of all attain full democratic independence, on the basis of one man one vote, before federation can be effectively considered. When this condition has been fulfilled, and not before, I shall certainly play my part in bringing together not only the East African States, but also

all African States which meet this condition, into a United States of Africa. To this end I am keeping in close touch with as many African leaders as possible." (*Uganda Argus*, October 10, 14 and 16, 1957.)

Zanzibar

Representative Members Appointed

THE Sultan has made fifteen nominations to the Legislative Council; nine of these are official members and six are appointed representative members. Among the officials are two Arabs, one an Education Officer and the other an Assistant Agricultural Officer.

Among the unofficials nominated are four Arabs including Sheikh Ali Mushin Barwani, leader of the Nationalist Party, who was defeated in the elections for the six elected unofficial members.¹

SUDAN

Prime Minister in London and Cairo

THE Sudanese Prime Minister, Abdullah Khalil, visited London, Paris, and Cairo. In London he discussed the problem of the largely unsold Sudanese cotton crop. Of this year's crop of some 680,000 bales only about 180,000 bales have so far been sold: and only some six months remain to dispose of the rest. The crop represents about three-quarters of the Sudan's exports.

The *Manchester Guardian* (October 3, 1957) commented: "Partly as a result of bad advice and partly in the false expectation that Egypt would find difficulties in disposing of her cotton crop this year as a result of her strained relations with Britain and France, the reserve price for Sudanese cotton had been fixed too high. Although relations between the Lancashire cotton industry and the Sudanese cotton exporters have been and remain friendly and although the British Government has an obvious interest in preventing the Sudanese Government from feeling obliged to dispose of its cotton to Russia, it is unlikely that Mr. Khalil received any great encouragement from his London talks."

During his Paris talks the French authorities told him they were unable to buy Sudanese cotton because of lack of sterling, but they offered to take quantities against French products of equal value.

In Cairo the Prime Minister discussed a revision of the Nile waters agreement and compensation for those inhabitants of Wadi Halfa whose properties would be inundated by raising the level of the river behind the projected High Dam.

In an interview published in the Egyptian *Al Ahram* the Prime Minister said that his Government intended to invite Arab heads of State to a conference in Khartoum this winter, adding: "Topics for discussion have not been fixed yet but the conference will not be similar to the one proposed for Beirut."

He also reported that the Soviet Union had proposed an economic and trade agreement with the Sudan. The Soviet proposal was under study by Sudanese experts. (*The Times*, October 3 and 4, 1957.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Election Campaign Preparations

THE *Manchester Guardian* (September 31, 1957) said: "Both the major parties are now on an election campaign footing and intensive canvassing is proceeding in most constituencies. The Nationalist Party has the largest election fund in its history—it is believed to be about three times as large as that of the United Party. The Nationalists have five paid organizers in the field for every one of the United Party."

"The Nationalist Party expects 1 per cent of the electorate to swing in its favour, which it calculates will for the first time give the Party a clear

¹DIGEST IV, 4. ²DIGEST V, 2.

¹DIGEST V, 2.

overall majority of the total vote cast. On a favourable delimitation it would also mean an extra nine seats in Parliament, raising the Party's majority to about forty. The United Party, on the other hand, counts on a swing against the Government of up to 5 per cent, which could mean anything from reducing the Government's present majority by a few seats to its actual defeat.

"The main plank in the Nationalist platform is a call for the consolidation of *Baaskap Apartheid*, with a Republic within the British Commonwealth more or less as a second string. The United Party intends to make 'security' its main electoral theme and has adopted a key as its campaign symbol. It claims that its new plan for the Senate¹ will give constitutional security and that its policies will promote economic and racial security. Both sides agree that the economic position in the Union, where a dearth of investment capital from overseas is creating financial difficulties, will have an important bearing on the election."

Sir de Villiers Graaff said that the questions of federation or union, monarchy or republic, vital as they were, were not the immediate issues. The United Party, as Field-Marshal Smuts had declared, stood for the maintenance of the fundamental provisions and pledges under which the four colonies had agreed to form a united South Africa under the British Crown. That position had not changed, but the time had come to call a halt to Nationalist government and to undo the harm that had been done to South Africa's good name and her people's rights and freedoms and dignity as human beings.

Sir de Villiers outlined the following "seven-point programme" to "restore the freedom and dignity of the individual and the underlying spirit of democratic government": no interference with freedom of worship; respect for the sanctity of the home; proper recourse to the courts in cases of invasion of rights and freedom; access to courts to be equal for all; maintenance of the independence, status and dignity of the judiciary; restoration of university autonomy; and abolition of the present enlarged and "undemocratic" Senate. (*The Times*, October 16, 1957.)

Sir de Villiers said that it was something new for the Nationalist Party to say—as Mr. Eric Louw, in fact, said—that it would not depend on promises to win the next election but would "stand on its record". Referring to this record, Sir de Villiers said that the Director of the Reserve Bank had reported that the amount of personal saving in the Union had dropped by £22 million, debts had risen throughout the country and the cost-of-living had risen greatly. All these things had continued and the Government had done nothing about them.

The Government had accused the Press of causing South Africa's bad reputation overseas; "but this reputation did not exist before 1948, when the Nationalists came into power". (*Windhoek Advertiser*, September 6, 1957.)

The annual report of the Nationalist Party's federal council said that the Government's achievements in the past nine years had been magnificent. "Apartheid has been applied in many spheres; the interests of employees in lower-income groups has been attended to; taxation has been reduced. Our highest court has been made independent of the British Privy Council; industries have been encouraged and established, the housing shortage has been considerably relieved; Communism has been combated; farming has received attention and aid."

The republican idea had been strongly propagated; "black blotches" had been removed; overseas confidence in South Africa had been restored; Simonstown had become a South African naval base; the sovereignty of Parliament had been established; and South Africa had its own flag and its own national anthem. (*Star*, September 11, 1957.)

At the Transvaal congress of the Nationalist Party, the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, was under strong pressure from republicans who reject the official view of the Party that the republican issue and the question of South Africa's continued membership of the Commonwealth are separable.

After hearing a delegate say that staying in the Commonwealth while becoming a republic would mean staying in the "English kraal", Mr. Strijdom said: "South Africa is sovereign and independent. The fact that we and Britain have the same queen does not derogate from this. The Commonwealth is a voluntary association which we could end tomorrow

if we wanted to. . . . With a view to the dangers in the East, communism, and the dangers inside Africa if communism took hold of the 200 million Natives, it might be in our interests if we remained in the Commonwealth. . . . To say that we would then be in the British kraal is wrong, just as wrong as to say that France and other allies are in the British kraal. The interests of South Africa would be decisive."

The official policy was approved with two dissentient votes. (*Star*, September 18, 1957.)

Speaking at the congress of the Cape Nationalist Party at Port Elizabeth, Mr. Strijdom said that the English language newspapers would have to bear most of the responsibility for the ugly incitement of natives against White people. "The Government will have to take strong action to maintain peace, and to ensure that natives are not taught to hate the White man." The Natives should be taught that the *apartheid* policy was not beneficial to the White man only but would also bring peace to all peoples of the country, White and non-White.

The congress resolved to ask the Government to continue with the application of *apartheid*, and with the suppression of underground activities, particularly among the non-White population. (*The Times*, October 24, 1957.)

Extension of European Franchise

The Prime Minister announced that the franchise would be extended to eighteen-year-old White South Africans next year. (*The Times*, November 11, 1957.)

Federal Party

Mr. Heaton Nicholls, former leader of the Federal Party, advised the Party congress not to contest any seats in the coming Parliamentary elections. It was expected that the congress would accept this advice and rescind an earlier decision to contest every seat. (*South Africa*, November 2, 1957.)

Liberal Party

The Liberal Party is to meet before the end of this year to decide whether or not to contest the general elections. It is the only party in South Africa opposed to any form of colour bar. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 1, 1957.)

Transvaal Municipal Elections

The *Manchester Guardian* (November 1, 1957) reported: "Mr. A. L. Raubenheimer, Nationalist councillor for Langlaagte, one of the few wards controlled by the Nationalist Party in Johannesburg, has been defeated by a United Party candidate. Langlaagte, a marginal seat, is regarded as an important pointer for the general election next year. The United Party has increased its majority on the (Johannesburg) council by five seats . . . and now has 34 of the 42 seats. Dr. J. S. Otto, an Independent who has always supported the Nationalists, was defeated in a working-class ward."

In Brakpan, two Nationalist candidates were defeated by Independents. Nationalist majorities were cut by an average of 100 votes in all Brakpan wards—and the town is a marginal parliamentary seat.

South Africa (November 9, 1957) said: "The United Party's advance in the municipal elections on the Rand . . . was in the opinion of Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, M.P., chairman of the party's Rand executive, the most heartening political event since 1948. Mr. Marais Steyn, M.P., read into it evidence of an undeniable swing against the Nationalist Party and of a new spirit of enthusiasm in the United Party throughout the country. . . . Studying the results at a distance of a thousand miles, the Government party's Cape newspaper finds that the Opposition is being vigorously consolidated into a strong united resistance, inspired by a fighting spirit such as it has not manifested since 1953. These, and most of the other representative opinions that have been expressed, show that both Government and Opposition read considerable significance into the successes that the United Party scored; even though the Nationalists' principal Transvaal newspaper . . . refused to regard municipal elections as a political barometer. It is, of course, true in many parts of the world apart from South Africa that local elections contested by the big parties are generally a very crude barometer of national politics. On the Rand, however, the changes . . . were too marked to be omitted from the calculations for

1956: particularly as it is somewhere on the Rand that the country's political equilibrium rests. . . .

"The municipal results should not, however mislead the Opposition into undue optimism. Its successes, though encouraging, are not by any means sweeping. And they will certainly prod the Nationalists into even more intensive electioneering than usual. The United Party's achievement lay in bringing a higher percentage of its supporters to the polls than in previous municipal contests. To do the same in the general election will require a great deal of grinding and efficient labour."

Riots in Johannesburg Townships

Over forty people were killed, and scores injured, when rioting broke out between Zulus and Basutos in Dube, Meadowlands and other Native townships to the south-west of Johannesburg on September 15. Four hundred police were called in. The Zulus alleged that they had been attacked by tsotsis, supported by Basutos, while on their way to work. (*Rand Daily Mail*, September 16, 1957.)

Native leaders in Johannesburg devoted almost all their time to an effort to bring peace to the townships and prevent a recurrence of violence. After a series of meetings they produced a line of action along which they urged the European authorities to act.

In the interest of Black-White relations, they appealed for the underlying causes of the disturbance to be understood and for Europeans to be given an accurate picture of the various factors, as well as an assessment of the strength of the forces involved. Their first and most urgent request was for the police to concentrate on disarming the warring factions. They asked for leaflets to be distributed to the people reassuring them that adequate protection would be given to everyone.

As long-term measures they recommended that Dube Hostel be moved from its present site in the midst of family dwellings, and the system of ethnic grouping be abolished. They rejected any suggestion that the outbreak of violence between "Russians" and "Zicaza" had in any way justified the division of the people into ethnic groups, and pointed out that thousands of Zulus and Basutos had lived, and were living, peacefully side by side in Orlando and other areas. (*Star*, September 19, 1957.)

At the request of the police, leaders of the Zulu and Basuto people toured the townships and broadcast messages calling on the people not to join in any attempt to restart the fighting.

The Johannesburg Advisory Council also said that ethnic grouping was the main cause of the faction fighting, and added that the City Council of Johannesburg had been forced to house Africans in this way in order to obtain money for their housing schemes.

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, said that the development of tsotsism in Johannesburg was a result of the United Party control in the municipality. The members were riddled with Liberal ideas and did everything to undermine the Government in speeches and in instructions to their officials.

The Non-European Affairs Committee asked for an inquiry "into the root causes of the conditions which gave rise to the riots".

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, after consultation with the Cabinet, decided not to accede to the council's request, and the Non-European Affairs Committee subsequently decided to ask the council to appoint its own commission of inquiry, under the chairmanship of a retired judge if possible. (*Star*, October 1, 1957.)

Urging the City Council to give its unanimous support to this proposal, Mr. Hymie Miller, the chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee, pleaded for a complete revision of the approach to the urban Native, on the lines of the approach asked for in the Tomlinson report, which visualized a permanent urban Native population of 6 million in under fifty years. This approach could not differ basically from the approach to an urban White community. "It is impossible to assemble vast numbers of Natives and expect them to live normal family lives unless you can give them all the essentials for a settled community. It is crystal clear that the present-day conditions of the Native urban population demand an advanced approach. A civic sense, a sense of responsibility, must accompany the growth of the community, which at the same time must have adequate financial resources for a complete life." Housing, health and

recreation services, employment and opportunities for advancement were all proper subjects for the proposed commission of inquiry.

Police protection in Native areas, said Mr. Miller, should match the security expected by the White metropolitan area of Johannesburg. Any policy of accentuating tribal division was out of touch with reality in Johannesburg, where Western civilization had impinged on the whole of the Native urban community. "To expect a community to live under one form of civilization while insisting on the preservation of another must inevitably lead to more conflict and violence." The motion was adopted by 27 votes to 7, all the Nationalist Party councillors voting against it. (*Star*, September 24, 1957.)

Censorship Recommended

The report of a Commission appointed in 1954 to inquire into "undesirable publications" was published in September. *The Times* (October 1, 1957) said: "In its findings the Commission expresses much concern at the flood of indecent and obscene books and magazines from abroad; the appearance, particularly in new Afrikaans writing, of pornographic novels; and the undesirability of advertisements showing inadequately clothed women."

"The Commission has produced an elaborate draft 'statute' designed to deal with undesirability in publications, both imported and locally produced. The statute rests on a long, involved and loose definition of 'undesirability'. This is defined in general as follows: 'Printed matter shall be undesirable if it is deemed indecent, offensive or harmful by the ordinary, civilized, decent, reasonable, and responsible inhabitants of the Union'. In particular, the definition is applied to blasphemy; matter harmful to chastity and purity; illustration of persons in improper attire; the depicting in harmful manner of a long list of topics dealing with sex, crime and violence; the 'eulogistic' depicting of miscegenation and other sexual relationships between White and Black; any tendency to engender friction White and Black, or . . . to propagate principles of communism."

"The 'statute' proceeds to set up a 'publications board', the function of which is to decide what is undesirable. The board is to be made up of seven to eleven persons nominated by the Minister, with an appeal to another board made up of a judge appointed by the Minister and four other persons also nominated by the Minister. It will be a crime with severe penalties to import, sell, publish or distribute printed matter without (the board's) licence."

"The statute declares that 'newspapers shall fall under the exclusive jurisdiction of the courts', but there is a proviso that 'any court may consult the board regarding the question whether any particular part of any edition of any newspaper is undesirable, and the board shall inform the court of its opinion in writing'. Offending newspapers are subject to heavy penalties, including suspension and, in addition, the editor, whose name must be published on each copy of his newspaper, can be prohibited from seeking or being given any employment in any journalistic capacity for a period of up to five years plus fines and imprisonment."

Dagbreek en Sondagnuus (September 29, 1957) commended the Commission for its full discussion of the evil of pornographic literature, but said that the proposals amounted to censorship, "a too dangerous road for a free country . . . however reluctantly taken".

Die Transvaler (September 25, 1957) expressed doubt whether the Commission's method for dealing with undesirable literature was the best in all respects, and pointed out that "the democrat" was "jealous of his freedom". It predicted that the "statute" would not be adopted unamended.

Die Weste (September 26, 1957) said that enthusiasm for Government control of the Press could never be expected from Afrikaans publishers, and added: "A great deal of control over the Press and radio can, if misused, lead to a dictatorship, as the modern world has seen recently in Germany and Italy, and as it sees still in Russia. The least degree of freedom which must be demanded for the Press (and the Press is today the most powerful instrument for the education of adults) is the absolute right to criticize the Government, the political parties, subordinate legislative and administrative organs and local administrations, and to correct them without the slightest danger of prosecution or suppression, provided that the bounds of decency are kept." The Afrikaans community would

support the introduction of some measure of control, provided that "freedom of the Press vis-à-vis the authorities" was safeguarded.

The *Cape Times* (September 24 and 25, 1957) said that there was a possibility that the scheme had been made "deliberately extravagant" so that later pruning could make it appear comparatively reasonable.

Under the heading "A Most Undesirable Publication", the *Sunday Times* (September 29, 1957) said: "There is, we think, a case for some tightening of the system of control. But . . . we can find nothing in the facts and figures of the report to justify the Commission's extraordinarily drastic proposals, the effect of which would be to turn the publishing business into one of the most harassed and hazardous of all occupations. . . . The public should realize that the present trend of over-legislation, over-regulation, over-control, is leading South Africa steadily towards the point where it will be held that the only sure way to prevent the abuse of freedom is to suppress it altogether."

Police Spy Reported at Rhodes

Dr. T. Alty, Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes University, said that an undergraduate had confessed to activities as a police informer. The student said that he had been asked by "a private person" to report any political implications in the lectures of certain members of the staff and to note if they propagated any party political ideas in their lecture. He had made reports on individuals to this person from time to time over the last two years. In May 1957, he had been approached by an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department, who asked him for information about the remarks made by a fellow student at a public meeting on the Group Areas Act, and invited him to submit reports on political activities in the University. (*Pretoria News*, September 16, 1957.)

The *Star* (September 12, 1957) reported that the Commissioner of Police refused to comment. He said that it was the first duty of all policemen to preserve the internal security of the Union. The Security Branch consisted of specialists in this field; they dealt exclusively with Communist and subversive activities. He denied that they were ever used in the interests of the Government as distinct from those of the State, and added that the work they were doing was not new, having been done by the South African Police "from the beginning". The only difference was that since the creation of the Branch policemen had been able to specialize and improve their techniques. The Branch itself had been in existence under several different governments and some of its members had served in it for twenty years or more.

The Lecturers' Association of Natal University said that it saw no reason to doubt the "substantial accuracy" of the reports. "Members feel that any kind of police surveillance of university life is directly contrary to the principles of academic freedom, and to the spirit of a university. They feel, in particular, that the suborning of young students to report on their fellows or their teachers is immoral and contemptible, and the Association desires to record its strongest possible protest against this or any other form of espionage." (*Pretoria News*, September 9, 1957.)

The Lecturers' Association of the Fort Hare University College called for a judicial inquiry to discover how many police agents there were in the universities and at which universities they had been placed. (*Rand Daily Mail*, September 14, 1957.)

The Students' Representative Council executive at the University of the Witwatersrand said that members of the Security Branch had attended a mass meeting of students discussing the University Apartheid Bill, a special Convocation meeting on the same Bill, and meetings of the Students' Diogenes Society.

Asked about the allegation of spying at Rhodes University, the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, said that he did not believe that students had been spying for the Security Police, but he added that it should not be forgotten that there were still university students and professors who were Communists. Referring to a professor who had given extra-mural lectures on communism, he asked: "If such things happened, should they not be investigated?" (*South Africa*, October 19, 1957.)

No Passport for Treason Trial Counsel

The Minister of the Interior has refused to issue a passport to Mr. Vernon Berrange, a leading defence counsel in the treason trial. The letter

giving the decision recalled that a passport issued to Mr. Berrange in London was withdrawn in January 1955 and that his application in 1956 for a South African passport had been refused. Mr. Berrange is one of the many persons named under the Suppression of Communism Act.

In a letter to the Minister, Mr. Berrange had explained that his application for a passport had been made not for personal reasons but to ensure that the persons he was representing were not deprived of witnesses who might be vital to the defence. (*Observer*, October 6, 1957.)

Mr. Berrange had intended to inquire into evidence given by a Crown witness, Ernest Lloyd-Parker, implicating British Members of Parliament and the Archbishop of Canterbury in the rise of Mau Mau terrorism in Kenya. The prosecutor had said that this evidence was relevant because organizations represented by some of the accused had expressed solidarity with Mau Mau. (*Observer*, September 15, 1957.)

Works by world-famous artists and writers are to be auctioned in aid of the Treason Trials Defence Fund in December. Among contributions so far received are works by Graham Sutherland, Ben Nicholson, Gerard Sekoto, Barbara Hepworth and Reg Butler; there are drawings by Vicky and Gerard Hoffnung, and a painting is expected soon from Diego Rivera.

Authors who have sent signed copies, first editions or original manuscripts are T. S. Eliot, Jean-Paul Sartre, Arthur Miller, Christopher Fry, Rose Macaulay, Peter Ustinov, John Gunther, Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, William Plomer, Doris Lessing and Laurens van der Post. Among the valuable collectors' pieces received are letters from Olive Schreiner and correspondence between General Smuts and various well-known people.

The Johannesburg committee of the Fund is appealing for contributions from collectors and others who may be in a position to donate *objets d'art* and antiques with a South African association. The Fund hopes to engage the very best legal assistance available for the Supreme Court trial, and this can only be done if substantial contributions are received soon.

The address of the Treason Trials Defence Fund is 5 Trades Hall, Kerk Street, Johannesburg. (*Star*, September 19, 1957.)

Church Clause¹

Dr. W. A. Visser t'Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, expressed the Council's concern about the discussions on the Native Laws Amendment Bill (as it then was). He asked for information about the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Churches, and for replies to the following questions:

"(1) May we take it that your church stands by the principle stated in the *addendum re* declaration of policy in the English edition of the report 'The Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa and the Problem of Race Relations', namely that, 'This professed unity in Christ in our opinion also demands concrete expression not only between denominations but also between believers of different nations and races. Just as the Church is called to strive after a fuller realization of sanctification, so it is also called to strive after a better experience of the communion of saints.'

"(2) May we take it that your church stands ready to defend this principle, if and when there should be any interference with (it) by the State, it being understood that inter-racial religious services must never be used as a cloak for other than religious purposes?"

Replying on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa, the Rev. W. A. Landman, wrote: ". . . As the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches has unanimously approved the report on race relations to which you refer, hardly any doubt is left on the question as to whether we stand by the principles embodied therein. . . . This report bears witness to the fact that our established missionary churches really are indigenous churches on the pattern advocated by the World Missionary conferences from Liverpool (1860) up to Tambaram (1938). We are fully aware of the danger involved in any policy and line of action which may disrupt and impair our fellowship in Christ with Christians of a different race, even when, as is the case with us, they belong to the same Dutch Reformed Church and profess the same faith. We are, however, very happy

¹DIGEST IV, 5 and 6; V, 1 and 2.

to state that, especially during the last few years, mutual interests seem to bind us much closer together, and that the Coloured members of our church prefer to belong to their own institutions and have not approached us, on any occasion in the remote or near past, with a request to reconsider our policy.

"Both among the European and Coloured members of our church however, a growing need is making itself felt for closer co-operation in expressing our mutual faith, but our Coloured members seem to appreciate the fact that in a multi-racial society, unity in Christ need not, and cannot mean, uniformity in church life. The natural consequence of this is that our churches, both European and Coloured, more or less follow the segregational pattern of life, which is traditional in our country and lies at the root of the Native law under discussion. This law was passed in 1937 and 1945 under a totally different government, and met with no adverse criticism whatsoever, either from the English churches or any other group, although, in fact, it dealt with church services mainly for Natives.

"In a letter to *Die Kerkbode*, our official paper, the Secretary of the Christian Council of Churches of South Africa tries to explain the silence (in 1945) of those churches, which are so vigorous in their protests to-day, by a suggestion that they might have been 'guilty of the laissez-faire attitude prevalent at that time'. This can hardly be called a convincing explanation, especially when they are compelled to concede that the Native Law Amendment Bill does not involve any new principles. The basic principle is the same in both cases. . . .

"European members of our church regularly attend services and other religious functions in our non-European missionary churches on the occasion of the ordination of a missionary worker, the inauguration of a mission-church, mixed conferences, etc. The converse is also true. . . . It is therefore unnecessary for the Dutch Reformed Church in the light of its history to convince anybody that we stand for religious liberty and freedom of worship and that we will under no circumstances tolerate any interference in the autonomy of our church. It is therefore a very natural sentiment for us to renounce the mere idea of any such control. Our church was very much concerned when the Native Laws Amendment Bill was proposed in Parliament. The Federal Council sent a deputation to discuss the implications of the so-called 'church clause' with the Minister of Native Affairs. The deputation convinced itself that the basic principle of religious freedom and freedom of *bona fide* Christian worship was in no way impaired or interfered with but that the Bill was only aimed at the curbing of possible nuisances which could arise if and when large numbers of Bantu gather in essentially White residential areas with the real or ostentatious purpose of attending religious worship. The Bill makes it virtually impossible for the State or local authority to act arbitrarily in this matter. It defines the procedure in order to establish the fact of nuisance beyond any reasonable doubt and provides the legal machinery to achieve a reasonable agreement for all parties concerned. We conclude by stating once again that you may rest assured that the principles implied in your questions are not impaired in this Bill, and that much of what was said and rumoured in the Press, here and abroad, came either from misinformed or totally biased sources.

"In submitting all this for your consideration, we wish to add that we are at present experiencing a rapid change in the social structure of this country, so that any effort to create a permanent relationship between the Dutch Reformed Churches and our non-European members will prove futile. Setting out from the basic idea that our missionary churches must develop independently and along their own lines, so as to be of real help to their own groups (Coloured and Natives) in the spiritual field, we yet feel ourselves bound to remove all unnecessary hindrances to our professed unity in Christ, and to adapt our policy of church government as time and needs might necessitate." (*Pretoria News*, October 18, 1957.)

The Rev. Harold Munro said that the Presbyterian Church of South Africa approved of the Church Clause of the Native Laws Amendment Act, except for the provision disallowing an appeal against any decision taken by the Government or a municipality in terms of the Act. The Church had written to the Minister of Native Affairs and had made contact with the Dutch Reformed Church "because we had similar doubts and reservations".

"The Church must accept that the State is better informed and better qualified to know what the needs of maintenance of public order are. . . . So much nonsense has been talked that people are apt to forget that the legislation is directed not against integrated public worship but against a public nuisance. The Church in this country must be very careful that it does not find itself defending its right to be a public nuisance." (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 14, 1957.)

The Moderator, Dr. R. H. R. Liddell, said that the Presbyterian Church did not approve of the Church Clause. While accepting it as the law of the land, the Church objected to it on the ground that it allowed no appeal against the Minister's decision.

The full text of the resolution passed at the Church's General Assembly was:

"(1) The Presbyterian Church of South Africa realizes that the segregation of Natives in Urban areas is provided for in the Natives' Urban Areas Act.

"(2) The Church is concerned at the wide powers given to the Minister of Native Affairs to be the final arbiter of the vital question of facilities for worship in so far as the Native people are concerned.

"(3) The safeguards laid down in the recent legislation notwithstanding, the Presbyterian Church of South Africa considers that the question of such facilities, the question of whether the presence on church premises or in an area traversed by Natives for the purpose of reaching such premises is in fact causing a nuisance or the question of whether it is undesirable that the Natives should be present on such premises in the numbers in which they ordinarily attend a service or function, and that the question whether attendance of Natives at a church service or function on premises situated within an urban area outside a Native residential area shall cease, being such grave questions affecting as they do the rights of worship, should not, in the interest of justice, be left to the Minister without giving to the persons concerned the right to obtain the view of an independent body or tribunal." (*Pretoria News*, October 16, 1957.)

The Assembly of the Baptist Union said: "All too frequently the natural aspirations of the non-European people of South Africa are regarded as communistic, anti-social or subversive. This Assembly considers that through legislation which is intended to separate racial groups, the Government is bringing frustration to many, and this may ultimately give way to violence."

The Assembly approved a resolution that the Government should "once more be urged to take into account the legitimate national aspirations of the non-European people of our land." (*Pretoria News*, October 17, 1957.)

The Rev. C. K. Storey, President of the Methodist Church of South Africa, said at his induction service that so long as the policy of any Government was based on White "baaskap", the Methodist Church would be in opposition to it. "The roots of politics are always deeper than politics, and *apartheid*, when pushed to logical conclusions, like any other philosophy of life, runs into theological conclusions. Its utter incompatibility with Christian standards has been exposed. In a country where race attitudes are rooted in tradition and habit, we now see the hidden conflict, and fears, coming to full consciousness, expressing themselves in political policy and law. . . . Our real battle is with the fundamental conception of *apartheid*—not merely as a political nostrum, but as an attitude of mind always running strongly and deeply just below the surface in all our life, European or non-European—it is a disease of the heart."

Admitting that segregation characterized much of South Africa's church life, Mr. Storey said: "We live in South Africa in 1957, and not in heaven, and have to work within the conditions in which we find ourselves. Our implication in the whole social order forces us to tolerate differences of culture, language and social custom. Facts of inheritance and race differences cannot be treated as though they do not exist." (*Pretoria News*, October 18, 1957.)

The Congregational Church of South Africa, at its national assembly in Durban, said: "It is our intention to continue to function in exactly the way we have always done, holding our multi-racial meetings and services where and when we have customarily held them." The assembly supported resolutions protesting against *apartheid* in the universities, the ruthless uprooting of homes and traditions through the administration of the

Group Areas Act, and against the planning and allocation of church sites on ethnic lines. (*The Times*, October 22, 1957.)

The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, said in his charge delivered to the Diocesan Synod on Sunday, October 27, 1957, that it was no longer enough to "attempt to satisfy our consciences merely by making pronouncements on racial matters. . . . We have to be ready to take the path of racial co-operation, however costly it may be for us to do so." This was a duty for both Whites and Africans.

The Bishop said that it was natural enough for man to be preoccupied with the issues of nuclear tests, atomic warfare and the danger of war. "Yet the manner in which the people of the world deal with the so-called 'colour problem' may well be determinative for the peace of the world. So often it is assumed that peace depends upon the relations between East and West, and more specifically upon the relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. But the chances are that peace between the nations of the world is going to depend upon the way in which the White races of the world respond to the increasing demands for rights and freedom that are now being made by the teeming millions of Asia and Africa as much as it does on the relations between the dominant powers in the modern world. This gives a particular significance to events in the Union and, therefore, places a very heavy responsibility upon those in every racial group in our country, for while it is true that our situation is only a part of a total world situation, the problem confronts us in South Africa in particularly acute form."

In particular the implementation of the Group Areas Act was affecting the lives of the Indians and Coloured people. In Johannesburg "nine thousand Indians are to be removed and between seven and eight hundred Indian traders are to be uprooted from areas in which through many years they have built up profitable businesses. Indeed the treatment given them is so cruel that it seems as if the intention is to drive them to seek expatriation." So too Albertsville, "an area which for years has been exclusively owned and occupied by Coloured people", was threatened. "Because those in authority have decided that this well-ordered and attractive suburb must become an area for White occupation, four thousand people must be uprooted and compelled against their wills to live elsewhere."

The Bishop drew attention to the almost impossible burden being placed on the police who were responsible for maintaining law and order and said that he had had to draw attention at the time of the disturbances outside the treason trial courtroom to the severe handling of the crowd by some members of the police force. This was no isolated incident.

It was a confusing task to scrutinize and judge the dogma that lay behind segregation since the word *apartheid* was now being used in several different senses, but the assumptions were always the same, that it was impossible for people of different races to live together in South Africa and that the White group was, and always would be, superior to other groups merely on grounds of race. . . . Those who take their stand on the Christian ethic cannot possibly defend a theory which demands so much and such grave injustice for so many people in order to make it effective in the life of the community. The Biblical doctrine of the Church left no alternative but "to demand a radical change immediately in our national policy".

The Most Rev. Joost de Blank said on his arrival in South Africa to take up his appointment as Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town that he hoped to serve God on behalf of all men without fear or favour. He said that he had tried not to make second-hand judgements on South African affairs, and he looked forward to learning much more about them at first hand. "Principles remain the same the whole world over. People in South Africa have no right to object to people outside South Africa enunciating principles, though they may be entitled to resent it if such people go on and perhaps try to solve all the problems of this inter-racial country on the basis of three weeks' knowledge."

Asked whether he considered himself the "guardian of the non-Europeans", the Archbishop replied: "I consider myself the guardian of all Christ's flock in the Anglican field."

He had no intention of taking part in party politics, but he was interested in politics in the sense that they concerned the well-being of man in society. (*Pretoria News*, October 1, 1957.)

Dr. Verwoerd, referring to the uproar the Church Clause had caused

throughout the country, said: "We'll use an iron hand with regard to mixed gatherings aimed at undermining the Government's *apartheid* policy." People who alleged that the Government was interfering with Church affairs were in fact interfering with Government affairs. The Church Clause was not his "brain-child", but had been born out of the policy the Party had entrusted to him. (*Star*, September 12 and 18, 1957.)

University Apartheid¹

The *Star* (October 2, 1957) reported that thirteen members of Parliament, representing all political parties, had met in Pretoria early in October to begin discussions on the University Apartheid Bill. They comprise the parliamentary select committee on the Bill and have been converted into a commission to enable them to continue their inquiries while Parliament is not in session. As the Bill has been approved in principle by the House of Assembly, the commission will not deal with the question of the desirability or otherwise of providing separate universities for non-Europeans, nor is it expected to deal with the provisions debarring non-Europeans from the "open" universities. The most controversial clauses of the Bill are those placing the staffs of the proposed non-European universities under strict ministerial discipline, and the commission will presumably examine them.

If the commission has not finished its work by the time Parliament meets again in January, the Bill will not be enacted at least until after the election.

The Students' Representative Council of the University of the Witwatersrand decided to give evidence before the commission. The evidence would "reflect the danger of closing Witwatersrand and Cape Town Universities to non-Europeans" and "highlight the total inadequacy and potential destructiveness of the proposed tribal colleges".

The South African Medical and Dental Council has sent a letter to the secretary of the commission advising him that should the proposed Bill be likely to affect the position of the Durban Medical School in any way, now or in the future, the commission should receive a Council deputation. (*Pretoria News*, September 29, 1957.)

Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Principal of the University of Natal, said that the idea seemed to be growing in South Africa that because the State paid for certain things it had absolute control over all people for whose benefit the money was voted. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 4, 1957.)

The *Times* (November 4, 1957) reported: "At a meeting on *apartheid* in South African universities, organized by the Committee on Science and Freedom and held in London, a resolution was passed expressing 'admiration and support for those South African universities which are resisting their Government's policy of compulsory race segregation'."

"The Committee, a mainly university body, believe that violation of academic freedom in any country for reasons of state cannot solely be the concern of that country; they also believe that by 'sustained pressure from within and without' the Union Government may still be persuaded not to put the Separate University Education Bill (the University Apartheid Bill) into effect."

"Many speakers at the meeting wanted to do something more than talk and pass resolutions. Professor A. J. Ayer said that as in the case of the Hungarians they should all try to persuade their universities to offer places 'and not only to non-Europeans but to Europeans'. There was applause when an Oxford undergraduate announced that nearly £2,000 had been collected, mainly from undergraduates, to provide a scholarship for an African student who would be arriving in Oxford during the present academic year."

"Someone suggested that whatever they did they should not make things more difficult for their colleagues in South Africa who were fighting against odds. He was answered by a South African lecturer at a British university: 'The people out there don't want you to hesitate.' The speaker suggested that the Association of University Teachers might ask their members not to go to South Africa. 'It will be a long time before this Bill can be implemented and we can stop it,' he said."

"A South African spokesman had been invited to state the Nationalist case. He was Dr. L. J. du Plessis, Professor of Law in the University of Potchefstroom. 'I am surprised that while you are so concerned about

¹DIGEST V, 1 and 2.

compulsion in South African universities in favour of segregation you don't seem concerned about compulsion in the United States in favour of de-segregation," he said. After this Professor du Plessis outlined the South African Government's arguments for the Bill. It was a further step in the process of 'separate but equal'. Only separate racially homogeneous universities, he said, could produce the leaders the Africans need; the proposed non-White colleges would give the African far more scope than he had at the 'open' universities where he was, in practice, socially and often educationally segregated and his numbers strictly limited. On the other hand, if they were not so limited, all the universities might in future be 'swamped by non-Whites'; Government control of these colleges was necessary 'to prevent ideological and other undesirable developments; in particular, Communist'. 'If I lived in America,' Professor du Plessis ended, 'I would be an integrationist because the Negro is not a danger there. But the Bantu and Indians and Coloureds, if integrated more fully than they are now, would undoubtedly destroy our great South African nation.'"

South Africa (November 9, 1957) reported that Dr. Verwoerd would introduce in the next session of Parliament a Bill to transfer control of Fort Hare University College from the Senate of Rhodes University to the Government. (The clauses providing for such a transfer had to be omitted from the Separate University Education Bill because the matter was one which affected private interests.)

African Economist

An African economist, Mr. Selby B. Ngcobo, sailed for England at the beginning of September to take up a £1,000 Commonwealth Fellowship at the University of London. Mr. Ngcobo was educated at Adams College, and "holds some of the highest academic distinctions of any scholar in the country, including a Master of Arts Degree from Yale University (U.S.A.)". His mother "had paid for his education from her earnings as a washerwoman, although he was one of ten children in the family". (*Star*, September 2, 1957.)

Group Areas¹

At a hearing of the Group Areas Committee in Rustenburg, Dr. George Lowen, Q.C., and his junior counsel, Mr. S. Kentridge, walked out in protest against the Board's refusal to call witnesses to be cross-examined on statements made to them by the Town Council. Dr. Lowen charged the Council with "creating a prejudicial atmosphere through statements, some of which (were) irrelevant", and said that its attitude was directed by hatred and malice. The inquiry was obviously serving no useful purpose. "We have met with one refusal after the other. Our words don't carry any weight, and we know that words will not dissuade you." Dr. Lowen appeared for thirty-seven European citizens who want the Indians to be left in their present area.

Mr. L. R. Dison, who appeared for the Indian community, said that he agreed with Dr. Lowen. "The Council's proposal has the object of ruining the Indians economically. It is an attempt to commit a fraud on them." He appealed to the Committee to introduce any proposed changes slowly, and not to deprive the Indians of their livelihoods.

Mr. de Kock, Q.C. (for the Council), said that the Council would undertake to give all possible help to persons affected by the proposals, if they were put into force. The hearing was concluded shortly afterwards. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 17, 1957.)

The *Sunday Express* (October 20, 1957) said that the Group Areas Committee, which hears proposals mainly designed to oust Indians from towns and set them up in their own areas, had become farcical. "Since the Committee's first hearing four years ago, the procedure has been radically altered. What was intended as a strictly judicial inquiry into the advisability of proclaiming a group area in a town has become a procedure which alarms lawyers. Evidence by town councils has now become a series of vague and untested allegations. . . . The Committee is entitled to subpoena witnesses, but lately it has ceased to do this. Lawyers appearing for the Indian objectors have no power to subpoena. They find it impossible to test evidence for truthfulness. They are presented with a case against them and told to answer it as best they can.

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dönges, said that up to September 11

¹DIGEST V, 2.

a total of sixty-three group areas, of which forty-three were in the Transvaal, had been proclaimed. He had approved another 123 proclamations, of which thirteen were in the Transvaal. Steps were being taken to speed up proclamations. More than 50 per cent of the White, Coloured, and Indian population had already been covered. Legal "infiltration" had been stopped and in future illegal infiltration would be handled by a special division of the police and not, as previously, by group areas inspectors. (*Star*, September 19, 1957.)

An African, Mr. Jacob Moagi, who had paid a European £410 for a stand in Klipriviersoog and had spent £800 in building a house was told that he must leave as soon as possible or run the risk of being charged under the Group Areas Act. The magistrate said that while he had every sympathy for Mr. Moagi, the court could not go into the question of the loss he had sustained and he should consult a lawyer about it. The European, William Geffin, pleaded guilty to the charges brought against him under the Native Trust and Land Act and the Group Areas Act.

The prosecutor said that unless Moagi left the premises Geffin would be guilty of a continuing offence, the penalty for which was £5 for each day it continued. The Department would probably allow Moagi a short while to leave and Geffin time to evict him before charging them again. Geffin was fined £50 (or three months), suspended for twelve months on condition that he was not convicted of a similar offence under the Group Areas Act. (*Star*, September 18, 1957.)

Native "Provinces"

The *Star* (September 2, 1957) described the removal of the Koni tribesmen¹ as part of the biggest political development in South Africa since Union. "The Bantu Authorities Act, passed in 1951, provides for the formation of Bantu tribal authorities, or chiefs-in-council, any two of which may unite in a regional authority; any two regional authorities may become a territorial authority for which a status equal to, or a little more than, that of the provincial administrations is ultimately envisaged. This means that in due course there will grow up, within the four existing provinces, about seven Bantu 'provinces', all subject, as the provinces are, to the jurisdiction of Parliament. The Government cannot yet indicate exact boundaries of these Bantu territories. That will depend on where the Native Trust's future land purchases take place.

"The first big movement of tribesmen with this plan in view was the removal of the Swazi from Tenbos to east of the Komati River last year. Six months ago a quiet and leisurely trek of the Batau began in the North-Eastern Transvaal. This was the first part of a general reshuffle of about 10,000 Natives in the area. The south-western movement of the Koni . . . will be the largest single trek in this general post. (Their) lands will probably be taken up by some of the Bapedi, who . . . constitute a tribe large enough one day to form a territorial authority.

"Meanwhile officials of the Native Affairs Department are preparing for the formation of regional and territorial authorities for the Zulu in Natal. A territorial authority is also being created in the Ciskei to take the place of the Ciskeian Bunga. Two regional authorities have already been established in the Free State, and one has been formed for the Nthlaping in the Kuruman district."

Natal Daily News (August 30 and September 10, 1957) reported mass removals being carried out in Natal in terms of a Government order applying certain provisions of the Native Trust and Lands Act and the Native Administration Act. The removals were part of the Government's "ethnic grouping" policy, and affected families living in "black spot" villages, and families which have been settled on European farms "for generations". The plan was to settle them in "villages" in Native areas "as close as possible to sources of employment and suitable transport". For many of the Africans who had been living on European farms their displacement meant "disrupted lives, loss of home or employment or other hardships". Native Affairs officials who were supervising their transfer had their hands tied by the need to implement the law on the one hand and the shortage of alternative accommodation on the other.

The Department of Native Affairs has completed plans to settle hundreds of Africans in three reserves and a location near Durban, as part of a project to establish 3,750 African sugar-cane farmers who, it is

¹DIGEST V, 2.

planned, will eventually produce some 45,000 tons of sugar annually. The land will be divided into small economic units, only some of which will be harvested each season. The information officer to the Chief Native Commissioner for Natal said that the scheme had resulted from recommendations made by the Tomlinson Commission. (*South Africa*, October 26, 1957.)

Other Forms of Apartheid

Bantu Education¹

The Department of Native Affairs has issued regulations which are apparently designed to bring African night schools into line with the Bantu Education Act and the Group Areas Act. Their most serious effect is to terminate the Government's subsidy for schools in European areas and to reduce the subsidy for others.

In Johannesburg there are thirty-one registered night schools controlled by a central committee, and they provide the only educational opportunity available for about 3,000 African workers a year. About half the pupils are illiterates learning to read and write; others are taught subjects such as typing and book-keeping. Numbers of these Africans have progressed to Matriculation and beyond. These schools employ more than 100 African teachers. Students pay 10s. a year for primary classes and £2 for secondary classes, meeting about 15 per cent of the cost. The rest is made up in Government and Municipal subsidies. (*Star*, October 4, 1957.)

Children in the Free State whose parents have been classified as Bantu under the Population Registration Act are to be given six months' notice to leave the Coloured schools they may be attending. According to the existing arrangements, the provinces are responsible for the education of Europeans and Coloureds, while the Central Government controls the education of Africans. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 11, 1957.)

In a letter to *Pretoria News* (September 23, 1957) Mrs. M. M. Pijper said: "At the beginning of the year when asked to choose between school feeding and equipment, the Lady Selborne School Board surrendered school feeding, expecting to get more educational facilities to the tune of several thousands of pounds. The Chief Information Officer of the Union Department of Native Affairs explained in a note that the money freed in Lady Selborne by the surrender of school feeding had gone to pay for school facilities in . . . new locations."

The Administration

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dönges, announced that the Government would establish a special Ministry of Coloured Affairs, with an "entirely separate" department; it would take over from the Department of the Interior "all affairs regarding Coloured persons". The decision was one more positive step in the direction of total apartheid. (*The Times*, November 2, 1957.)

Nursing²

Mr. T. H. van Reenen, a delegate to the South African Nursing Council's congress, claimed that the majority of nurses were in favour of the Nursing Act. He said that there must be some sort of differentiation between racial groups, because "the European nurse with her education" could understand things which some non-Europeans could not. Another delegate, Mrs. C. Searle, agreeing that "people with entirely different cultures, such as the Europeans, Natives and Coloureds", could not have identical training, said that she deplored the use of the word *apartheid* in discussions of this issue. She said that the matter was not a political one, and that the Government had given the Council "enormous sums of money to spend on giving the non-European nurses a better training". (*Natal Daily News*, September 10, 1957.)

Commenting on these speeches in a letter to *Pretoria News* (September 14, 1957), a correspondent pointed out that all non-European girls presenting themselves for training as nurses must have either a matriculation certificate, a teachers' training certificate or a first-class pass in the junior certificate examination, and that they took the same professional examinations as the European nurses. Although the wards in some non-European hospitals were "totally unsuited for practical experience as required by the Nursing Council, being overcrowded and equipped with

old and obsolete equipment", the non-European tutors, ward sisters and nurses "do a grand job of work, as the results of the examinations have shown".

A national conference of nurses "to discuss the changed conditions brought about by the promulgation of the Nursing Act, and to co-ordinate efforts to maintain the status of the profession in South Africa" is to be held in Johannesburg. A circular from the organizing secretary of the conference stated: "There is widespread feeling that the Nursing Association, as now constituted under the Act, cannot possibly represent the nurses of this country adequately, nor protect their interests in the way it ought."

The conference will be open to all nurses, in contrast to any conference called by the Association in terms of the Act.

The agenda will include the questions of syllabuses, uniforms, salaries and advisory boards, and the possibility of forming a non-discriminatory nurses' organization with direct affiliation to the International Nursing Council. (*New Age*, October 10, 1957.)

A group of European and non-European nurses on the Witwatersrand have formed an independent professional nurses' club which will provide a common meeting-ground for nurses, irrespective of race. The club, called the Rand Nurses' Professional Club, will hold regular professional meetings of nurses and keep its members informed of recent developments in the theory and practice of nursing. (*Star*, October 15, 1957.)

The Legal Profession

A delegate to the Free State congress of the Nationalist Party asked the Minister of Justice to "end the difficulty caused by Native advocates and attorneys appearing in the courts". Mr. Swart replied that ultimately it was hoped to take strong action to end this situation, which was a cause of friction. (*Pretoria News*, September 13, 1957.)

New Age (October 24, 1957) reported that an African attorney, Mr. Douglas Lukele, was bodily thrown out of a court in the Free State. His three clients remained undefended. Mr. Lukele went forward to the table for attorneys and introduced himself. As he approached the table the prosecutor pushed him aside, pulled away the chair on which he was about to sit and directed him to sit at a desk. Mr. Lukele asked why he was discriminated against. The magistrate said he ought to know that it was traditional policy of the country that people of different races could not sit at the same table.

"Mr. Lukele: With respect, Your Worship, all attorneys are governed by the Legal Practitioners' Act. . . .

"The magistrate: This court refuses to be addressed by you. If you do not want to take your place you will be removed from court."

"Mr. Lukele asked him to record that statement. The magistrate agreed to do so and told Mr. Lukele to sit at the desk set aside for him. When Mr. Lukele tried to speak once more, the magistrate directed the prosecutor to have him removed from the court."

"The magistrate told the accused that they should get other lawyers since the one they had was 'cheeky'. He would postpone their cases for fourteen days, he said. One of the accused, who insisted that he would not get another lawyer and would not make any statement without his lawyer, was discharged there and then."

Commerce

The political correspondent of the *Star* (September 20, 1957) said: "From the end of this year, European commercial travellers and insurance agents will be stopped from entering Native areas. They must be replaced by suitably trained Native travellers and agents. . . . The change is being made to conform with the general policy that Natives should be employed to serve their own people wherever possible. It invokes no new law or regulation. . . ." (These laws are the Native Administration Act of 1927, which lays down that no European may enter a scheduled or released Native area without a permit, and the Native Urban Areas Act, which makes the same provision for Native urban areas.)

An official of the Native Administration Department told the *Natal Daily News* (September 11, 1957) that although the circular giving notice of the change did not mention Indian agents, it was obviously the intention that they, too, should be forbidden to enter the locations, and that his Department would "interpret it that way".

¹DIGEST IV, 6. ²DIGEST IV, 5 and 6; V, 1 and 2.

Mr. W. A. Sullivan, National Secretary of the National Union of Commercial Travellers, said that about 800 European commercial travellers would be deprived of their livelihood if the laws were enforced. (*Star*, September 11, 1957.)

Pretoria News (September 21, 1957) said that two insurance companies which did a large business in Native areas already had teams of Native agents and were training more; these agents were proving themselves both competent and honest. A burial insurance society whose agents for Native business were nearly all Natives, was planning to turn the "Native section" into a concern controlled by Africans.

Industry

In terms of a recommendation made by the Industrial Tribunal under the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation (Amendment) Act, which was passed last year, certain types of work in the clothing industry will in future be reserved for White workers. Non-Whites may work as pressers and unskilled workers only. Employers are required to notify the Labour Department of the "race, class of work, and experience" of persons required to fill vacancies.

In the Transvaal alone, the order will affect about 7,500 Coloured people and 4,000 Africans. (*Star*, October 18, 1957.)

Some 1,700 African and Asian clothing workers in the Eastern Province resigned their positions in protest against the order. About 1,100 of the resignations were handed in at the fifteen clothing factories at Port Elizabeth and the remainder at Kimberley. (*The Times*, November 5, 1957.)

Mr. J. C. Bolton, General Secretary of the Natal Garment Workers' Union, said that if the order was accepted, 120 factories in Natal would be brought to a standstill and 9,000 workers would lose their jobs. This was denied by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Jan de Klerk, who said that, although the determination comes into operation on November 4, it would not be binding in those areas where an industrial council agreement is operative unless the industrial council concerned consents to it. The industrial council for the clothing industry, Transvaal, has already advised that it is not prepared to give its consent, and according to all indications and information received, it would appear that the industrial councils for the Western Cape and Natal, where industrial council agreements are operative, are not prepared to accept the determination. (It) will accordingly have no effect in these areas until the respective agreements expire.

"As the determination will, as things stand, only be binding on some thirty factories in those areas where no industrial council agreement is applicable such as, for example, those areas adjoining Bantu territories . . . I have decided to grant them total exemption from the provision of the determination."

A meeting called by the South African Coloured People's Organization passed a resolution urging the Garment Workers' Union to act immediately to assist in the organization of a protest strike.

A consultative committee representing all the registered trade unions in the garment industry in the Union said that there were about 35,000 non-European and only 4,500 European workers employed on operations now to be reserved for Whites, and that the determination would therefore be completely unworkable. (*South Africa*, November 9, 1957.)

Addressing representatives of the South African steel and engineering industry, Senator de Klerk said that he was firmly convinced that the time had arrived for the introduction of provisions designed to deal boldly with the problem of inter-racial competition in the industrial field. For that reason the Government had introduced provisions requiring racial separation in the trade unions, and providing for the reservation of work under Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation (Amendment) Act where this was considered necessary to safeguard the interests of employees of any race.

The Government's objective was twofold: "Firstly, to deal with such problems before they reach the stage of disputes between employers and employees and, secondly, to ensure that changes in the racial composition of our industrial labour force are made, if they have to be made, with due regard to the interests of the workers concerned." (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 10, 1957.)

Mr. J. H. Wessels, an industrialist, said that the policy of reserving

skilled jobs for Europeans had created a tremendous man-power vacuum. A major industrial enterprise had been cancelled for lack of men to run it. In other countries, men for the top posts could be drawn from all classes; in the Union the selection stopped at the broad bottom barrier which comprised the non-European and a tiny class of Whites who were fitted only for sheltered employment.

The position in industry was becoming increasingly critical with the racial changes in the labour force. In 1920 there were 62,000 Whites in an industrial labour force of 175,000 (nearly 36 per cent). By 1953 the proportion of Europeans in industry had dropped to 260,000 in 820,000 (less than 31 per cent). After a careful study of the trend, organized industry had calculated that by the year 2000 there would be 4,750,000 European workers and 24 million non-Europeans—one White to more than five Black workers. (*Star*, October 17, 1957.)

Summing up the situation which has arisen as a result of the Minister's policy, the *Manchester Guardian's* South African correspondent wrote (November 11, 1957):

"Trade unionists believe that these job reservation proclamations on the eve of next year's general election have the political objectives of disrupting the unions, splitting the employers' organizations, and winning votes from White workers who have been led by Nationalist agitators to believe that their jobs are threatened by the flow of Black workers into semi-skilled occupations.

"The procedure being followed by the Government is to proclaim job *apartheid* in an industry and then grant wholesale exemptions to individual factories. Government spokesmen have indicated that these exemptions will be withdrawn in areas wherever unemployment of White workers arises. Industrialists point out that this places a powerful weapon in the hands of the Minister of Labour to discriminate against industries and industrial centres on a political basis. Trade unionists consider significant the fact that the Minister has singled out the clothing industry for first treatment. A long and relentless struggle between the Nationalist Party and the Garment Workers' Union for control of the union has been going on ever since the war years.

"The Chamber of Industries has been more cautious in opposing Government measures of which it disapproves than the Associated Chambers of Commerce have been, mainly because of the fact that there has been a substantial movement into industry of Nationalist-orientated capital and entrepreneurs. Commerce is already split into two racial groups and leaders of industry have been anxious to avoid a similar development in their ranks. However at their congress in Durban early in November opposition to job reservation on a racial basis proved so strong among industrial leaders that the executive of the Federated Chamber of Industries announced its intention to meet and consider a demand for the revocation of Clause 77 of the Act.

"At this stage the Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, suddenly intervened with a telegram inviting a deputation from the Chamber to meet him before taking a decision. Mr. Strijdom has since taken strong exception to press reports attributing certain remarks to the Chamber, and at a public meeting he declared that to use industrial organizations for political purposes was a serious matter. . . .

"His major weapon is the implicit threat to divide organized industry into Nationalist and non-Nationalist sections and he has power to use sanctions in various forms against industry. Whether the leaders of industry consider the economic disadvantages of *apartheid* greater than the political threat now facing them remains to be seen."

Mr. W. J. Carron, president of the British Amalgamated Engineering Union, announced that the A.E.U. had decided to sever its connexion with its autonomous South African section, which has some 20,000 members in eighty-five branches. The A.E.U. executive council had taken this "drastic step" because the South African trade union laws were in direct opposition to the principles of the A.E.U., which was not prepared to amend its rules to conform with South African legislation.

The A.E.U. has always been exceptional among British unions in the number of its members abroad, and the South African section has been an integral part of the union for sixty-four years. (*The Times*, October 6, 1957.)

The Tramway and Omnibus Workers' Union, Cape Town, decided to

amend its constitution in such a way as to bring it into line with the requirements of the Industrial Conciliation (Amendment) Act without altering the "mixed" character of the union. In terms of the amendment, the union will now have a European executive, and European and non-European branches. (*Pretoria News*, September 5, 1957.)

Transport¹

The Durban municipality decided to appeal to the National Transport Commission against its order requiring the Council to introduce total race segregation on all bus services by the beginning of 1958. The report upon which the Council's opposition to the order was based foresaw an annual increase of £159,000 in operational losses and a danger of racial riots if non-European bus services were curtailed as they would probably have to be if the order were implemented. (*The Times*, October 30, 1957.)

The Arts

In the months since the British Actors' Equity Association took its stand against the colour bar Equity officials have discussed the Association's ruling with a number of South African managements. In some cases agreements have been reached, but in one no compromise seemed possible. The exception was a proposed tour of *The Pajama Game* at the end of the year: African Consolidated Theatres, Ltd., through their English representatives, Theatrical Agency (S.A.) Ltd., told Equity that if it did not waive its requirements, the agency would book American artists.

Equity declined to alter its ruling, and sent a copy of its reply to American Equity, which unanimously endorsed the British Actors' stand. (*The Times*, October 5, 1957.)

On October 11, British Equity announced that as a result of an agreement with representatives of African Consolidated Theatres, Equity members were free to accept engagements for the South African tour of *The Pajama Game*. The agreement includes an undertaking to present one performance of the production to a non-European audience during the proposed ten-week tour; the management concerned was told that the agreement was particular to the present engagement, and did not constitute a precedent. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 11, 1957.)

Mr. Yehudi Menuhin has asked the South African International Arts League of Youth to invite an Indian artist to its next convention. "This is a test case. Should it prove impossible for the . . . League to include my Indian friend in their invitation, I shall withdraw my name from the list of patrons." Mr. Menuhin was writing in answer to a letter from Mr. Alan Paton saying that there was a colour bar in the organization.

The League, which was founded nine years ago and has more than twenty branches in the Union, holds an annual convention which is usually attended by young people from all over Africa and from Europe and the United States. Membership is open to Europeans aged between 12 and 19 who are interested in the arts. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 11, 1957.)

New Age (October 10, 1957) reported that at the annual meeting of the Eoan Group in Cape Town, the chairman said that the Group had been informed by the Department of Coloured Affairs that they had "got by" in the past with their performances for mixed audiences, but that if they did not in future conform to clause five of the agreement under which they received Government aid, their grant might be taken away.

A member of the Eoan Group Choir said, "The Nats are trying to blackmail us into accepting their policy . . . As far as I'm concerned, and it is the opinion of many others in the Group, the Coloured Affairs Department can keep their money. We don't agree to performing for separate audiences, and even if we lose (the) £1,000 from the Government, I'm sure that the public will make up for it with their support."

In a statement to the Press (October 6, 1957) the Africa Bureau said that it had found wide support amongst leading actors, writers, musicians and sportsmen for a manifesto it had drawn up deploring discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or religion. The manifesto had over a hundred signatures including those of Peggy Ashcroft, Benjamin Britten, Dr. J. Bronowski, Christopher Chataway, John Gielgud, Dr. Julian Huxley, Michael Redgrave, Flora Robson, Peter Ustinov, Emlyn Williams, and Donald Wolfst.

¹DIGEST V, 1.

Sport¹

An application by the Bantu Amateur Athletic Union for affiliation to the (European) S.A. Amateur Athletic Union was discussed at a meeting of the S.A.A.A.U. Council.

The chairman, Mr. Japie Kruger, said that while the Council would be treading on delicate ground in bringing about sudden and far-reaching changes, the matter was urgent, and it would be a great achievement if the activities of Bantu athletes could be officially recognized by the S.A.A.A.U. "while the *apartheid* laws of the land were not transgressed".

Mr. Kruger made the following points:

(1) An opening would have to be found in the Union's constitution to allow of the admission of Bantu members.

(2) If affiliation were achieved, it would be essential that Bantu athletes be represented by Europeans on the Council, and that the administrators and officials at athletics meetings should be Europeans.

(3) Although administered by Europeans, track meetings would have to conform with *apartheid* policy and legislation.

(4) Since European South Africans competed against Coloured athletes "in competitions such as the Olympic and Empire Games at overseas venues", the prospect of Bantu representing South Africa at these competitions was "tenable" even if separate teams had to be sent. Accommodation and travel would provide the real difficulties, but these were not insurmountable.

(5) When overseas teams toured the Union, separate European and Bantu teams could be selected to compete against them.

The case for the Bantu Union was put by Mr. D. F. Botha, secretary of the B.A.A.U., who said that it might be possible to stage meetings between Bantu and overseas European teams in the Protectorates. Mr. Botha said the matter was urgent because it was "already difficult to persuade certain Bantu elements" to await the decision of the council before campaigning for recognition overseas.

An *ad hoc* committee was appointed to investigate the question. Mr. Botha was to be co-opted if necessary, and all authorities concerned in the possible implications of affiliation were to be approached for advice, while bodies such as the Institute of Race Relations and Sabra were to be consulted. (*Pretoria News*, September 14, 1957.)

Golden City Post (October 13, 1957) reported: "There is a . . . possibility that the (non-European) South African Soccer Federation will become members of the Federation of International Football Associations in place of the S.A. Football Association (the European body) when the full congress of F.I.F.A. meets in Stockholm next year."

"The application of the Federation was discussed by F.I.F.A. at its congress held in Lisbon in June, 1956. The congress decided to defer its decision until the next congress in 1958. At that time S.A.F.A. pointed out that it had no colour bar in its constitution. The F.I.F.A. congress then suggested to both associations that they should try to iron out their differences and then report back to the 1958 congress."

"The (two associations) met in an effort to iron out their differences, but the talks broke down because, while the White group pointed out that they had no colour bar clause in their constitution, they maintained that there could be no mixed membership because of the laws of the country."

The secretary of the S.A. Soccer Federation Mr. George Singh, said that his application for a passport had been refused. The application had "nothing to do with F.I.F.A." It had been made purely for health reasons. (*Golden City Post*, October 13, 1957.)

The S.A. Amateur Weight-lifting Union (the all-White controlling body) has offered to meet the non-racial (in practice, non-White) S.A. Weight-lifting and Body-building Federation to discuss "an agreement which will suit everyone concerned". The offer follows the recent application by the non-racial body for international recognition . . . The White body has promised nothing . . . but the non-Whites hope (the discussions) may prove the thin end of a wedge which will lead to modification of the colour bar in the other thirty sports controlled by the International Olympics Committee.

The British Empire and Commonwealth Games Federation has said that colour-bar differences are South Africa's "internal affair" but has recorded its opposition to unequal status in sport. (*Observer*, November 3, 1957.)

¹DIGEST IV, 6, and V, 2.

Pensions¹

Dr. Verwoerd said that he was not in favour of old-age pensions for Africans, but would prefer a return to the tribal system whereby the tribe was responsible for the welfare of its old people. He had looked into the matter when he took over the portfolio of Native Affairs and had found that in some districts 1½ per cent of the Africans were drawing pensions; in other districts the total was 6 per cent. He had appointed eight inspectors to check these pensions, and they had made a saving of thousands of pounds by stopping pensions to which the recipients were not entitled, or by reducing pensions which were on too high a scale. (*Pretoria News*, September 12, 1957.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (October 3, 1957) reported that only two of the big Witwatersrand municipalities gave pensions to non-European workers on retirement. Johannesburg, Pretoria and other Reef towns paid lump-sum gratuities, but the Johannesburg municipality was planning a pension scheme for its "graded" non-European staff.

On the Beaches

A test case soon to come to court will involve African oyster pickers and their European employer, who had allowed them to operate on a section of the Umhlanga beach which had been zoned for Europeans. The outcome is awaited with interest by five other European licensees who are still sending their pickers to the section—though with some trepidation: the pickers could easily pursue their activities on the adjoining non-European section, but if they did so the ludicrous situation would arise that their European employers could be fined for trespassing in the area or, alternatively, risk losing their licences if they did not accompany the pickers, since it is a condition that the licensee must personally supervise the picking. (*Sunday Tribune*, September 5, 1957.)

Africans' Wages

A new wage determination for unskilled labour in Port Elizabeth (the first of a series about to be undertaken by the Wage Board for unskilled labour in all the big towns), raised minimum wages from £1 7s. a week to £1 17s. 6d., rising by 1s. a week for each year of uninterrupted service up to £2 0s. 6d. These wages must be accompanied by a compulsory cost-of-living allowance which in effect will raise them to a minimum of £2 15s. 9d. a week or £12 a month, rising to £13 5s. a month after three years' service. (*Star*, October 18 and 19, 1957.)

The *Times* (October 26, 1957) reported that the Bantu newspaper the *World* had announced the start of a campaign for a minimum weekly wage of £3 10s. "and other rights for Africans".

African Housing and Rents

The Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department told the Pretoria City Council that about £60,000 in arrear charges was owed by residents in the Atteridgeville and Vlakkfontein locations. The Atteridgeville housing scheme rents had been raised from a sub-economic to an economic level. Some families had been able to move to cheaper houses, but there were no more such houses available.

The Council adopted a resolution that township dwellers who could not pay the economic rental should be granted remission of that portion of the rent which exceeded one-fifth of the family income. Any losses incurred would be met from the Kaffir Beer profits account, if the Minister of Native Affairs approved. (*Pretoria News*, October 1, 1957.)

An application by Mr. J. B. Rathebe, a company director and social worker, to have a notice to vacate his house in Sophiatown—issued by the Natives' Resettlement Board—declared void was upheld in the Supreme Court. This decision, in what was a test case, may affect many African property owners and have an important bearing on the Government's plans to clear Johannesburg's Western districts of Africans. (*The Times*, October 10, 1957.)

Poverty Datum Line

A survey published by the Social Science Department of the University of Cape Town said that the average household of a man and wife and three children required a pooled income of from £236 to £287 a year to live at the level of the "poverty datum line", and pay rent and transport. Of the

¹DIGEST V, 2.

6,800 African households in the Cape Town municipal area, 2,700 were below this line; of the 38,000 Coloured households, some 12,000 were below it. These figures represented at a rough estimate 75,000 people.

Dr. Oscar Wollheim, Warden of the Cape Flats Distress Association, said his organization had made a sample survey of Coloured families, and had estimated that 20,000 of them (100,000 people) were supported by a breadwinner who earned an average of £156 a year. "The shortfall has to be made up by sending the mother and older children to work. The resulting neglect of children often leads to juvenile crime. Most families reduce expenditure by cutting down the protective foods such as milk, butter, eggs, fruit, green vegetables and meat to minimums. This inevitably lowers their resistance to disease. . . . Another way in which money is saved is by cramming a family into one room, which means a lack of privacy that causes moral degradation, often reducing human beings to the level of animals." (*Star*, September 5, 1957.)

Permit System¹

After armed police had stopped thousands of Africans, mostly women, who were on their way to Zeerust, in the Transvaal, to demonstrate against an inquiry into whether African women should have passes, Harvard aircraft "swooped down at tree-top level on some of the gathering groups, and the demonstrators turned back". (*Manchester Guardian*, November 7, 1957.)

U.N. Resolution

A recommendation that the General Assembly should, once more, appeal to South Africa to revise its policy of *apartheid*—racial segregation—in the light of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and of world opinion, was adopted by the General Assembly's Special Political Committee.

The resolution, co-sponsored by thirty states, deplors that the Union Government has not yet responded to previous calls by the Assembly to change a policy which has kept the question of race conflict in South Africa on its agenda since 1952.

It draws specific attention to some of the paragraphs of the earlier Assembly resolutions which, among other things, state that a policy of "racial segregation" is necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination, and that policies which are designed to perpetuate or increase discrimination are inconsistent with the Charter.

The resolution was adopted by 59 votes to 5, with 10 abstentions. The roll call was as follows: Against: Australia, Belgium, France, Portugal, and the United Kingdom. Abstentions: Argentina, Canada, the Dominican Republic, Finland, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Spain, the United States. (*U.N. Information Centre*, November 12, 1957.)

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Good Offices Committee

THE United Nations General Assembly has established a "good offices committee", consisting of the United States, the United Kingdom and a third member to be nominated by the Assembly President, to discuss with the Government of the Union of South Africa "a basis for an agreement which would continue to accord to the territory of South-West Africa an international status". (It was subsequently announced that Brazil would be the third member.) Voting was 50 in favour, 10 against with 20 abstentions.

The resolution was recommended by the Fourth Committee after a prolonged debate. Addressing the Committee Mr. Gilbert Longden (United Kingdom) welcomed the new approach. He said that United Kingdom policy on South-West Africa was to ensure that the recommendations made in seeking a solution to the problem should be well founded in law and likely to be effective. On these points they differed from the Indian and some other delegations, when other resolutions were under consideration. But the United Kingdom delegation had never sought to defend conditions in South-West Africa. "The United Kingdom dele-

¹DIGEST V, 1 and 2.

gation accepted the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 11 July 1950 as a whole, which Opinion (*inter alia*) substituted the United Nations for the League of Nations as the supervisory entity. It is a general principle of law that a successor party cannot acquire greater rights than those possessed by the original party, and the Court itself laid it down as a condition that the degree of international supervision to be exercised by the United Nations should not exceed that which applied under the Mandate System; and should conform so far as possible to the procedure followed by the League Council. So that, in our view, the United Nations simply has the same rights and functions as the League had; and that is why we were unable to agree with the setting up of the Committee on South-West Africa because we considered that to do that was to add to the burden imposed upon the Mandatory Power by the terms of the Mandate and of Article 22 of the Covenant; and we do not consider that this Committee has power to do that . . . the International Court of Justice has expressly ruled that there is no legal obligation upon South Africa to make such an agreement as would place the territory under the Trusteeship System . . . There can be no final solution of this problem without South African co-operation."

Mr. Longden described the resolution as "an entirely fresh start, forgetting the past, as represented by resolutions which have been adopted by the General Assembly".

Possibility of Further Legal Action

The General Assembly adopted a resolution (by 55 votes to 3 with 17 abstentions) which dealt with legal action to ensure the fulfilment of South Africa's obligations in respect of South-West Africa. At the request of the Fourth Committee, the South-West Africa Committee had prepared a report in the course of which it pointed out that under Article 7 of the Mandate, read in conjunction with Article 37 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court could be sought.

The resolution stated that the Assembly would resume consideration of the matter at its next session in 1958, and requested the South-West Africa Committee to make specific recommendations in its next report concerning the acts of the administration on which reference to the International Court of Justice might usefully be made as to their compatibility with the provisions of the Mandate and the Charter.

Rev. M. Scott heard by Fourth Committee

In the course of evidence before the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee, the Reverend Michael Scott referred to the petitions made by two German residents of South-West Africa,¹ in which it was alleged that his previous statements had contained "gross falsehoods". Mr. Scott said: "The Committee on South-West Africa seems to have answered their main points very effectively and in moderate terms." The Germans, for all their long experience and knowledge of conditions, had failed to produce any substantial evidence to controvert the charges of discrimination in every sphere of life against non-Europeans, the dispossession of their land and deprivation of political rights and elementary freedom of association and movement.

Speaking of the rapid growth in prosperity in the diamond and copper mining industries, Mr. Scott said: "It has to be remembered that this has only been possible on the basis of dependence on an increasing flow of cheap migrant labour from the Native Reserves, and upon a whole legal system which has deprived, and continues to deprive, the African people of so much of their land, thus compelling them into the service of the European-owned industries and farms. It is this that makes such hypocrisy of the doctrine of *apartheid* or separate development of the different races. Without a grasp of this basic fact it is very difficult to understand the double talk about *apartheid* and the double thinking which is so characteristic of the politicians predicants and philosophers of *apartheid*."

"Similarly, without some understanding of the basis of the prosperity of the great mining concerns in South-West Africa, it is difficult to explain the failure of such successful and intelligent public figures as Sir Ernest Oppenheimer of the Anglo-American Corporation to use their tremendous power and influence to bring about any radical change in the system of

segregation enforced by all the power of the State and the majesty of the law."

Mr. Scott quoted figures to show the increasing dependence of farmers on cheap native labour. The New South-West Africa Native Labour Association of Grootfontein is reported as having handled 45,500 in 1955 as compared with 2,887 in 1928. In the same report it is stated that during the past thirteen years (the period in which South-West African Affairs have been most debated overseas) the minimum wage for all classes of labourer had increased by 200 per cent. If this were so, the fact remained that the minimum wage for labourers was 20s. per month. Wage rates for all classes of labour ranged from 20s. to 65s. a month, in rural areas, as a starting wage.

Mr. Scott read a statement by Mr. J. Kosonguizi, a Herero graduate of Fort Hare University College in South Africa, who he said ought to have been there to give his evidence in person.

Mr. Kosonguizi's evidence which appeared as an article in *Africa South* (September 1957) traced the history of the African peoples of South-West and described the social conditions under which all non-Whites there lived. He said: "The indigenous population lives in an agony of slums, poverty and wretchedness, while the European section is enjoying boom prosperity and lives in beautiful newly-built dwellings. The non-Whites suffer the sharpest discrimination in housing and other health provisions, and while numerous housing schemes have been devised and built for Whites, a single plan put forward for non-White housing as early as 1948 received no attention whatsoever until recently. . . . There has been a continued expansion of medical services in the territory, especially in the establishment of new hospitals for non-Whites. But even in this field, discrimination is rife . . . For a White population of less than 50,000, £40,000 is spent in annual subsidy on State-aided hospitals, while only £20,000 a year is spent to maintain the State-owned hospitals of nearly 400,000 non-Whites."

Mr. Kosonguizi described land allocation as being "at the bottom of non-White sacrifice and suffering. . . . Today only 21,825,995 hectares are occupied by non-Whites, while the Europeans not only occupy 37,578,865 hectares of the best land, but have all the land unallocated at their disposal. Government and Crown lands 'considered suitable for agricultural settlement' have continually been leased or sold to White settlers on easy terms. By 1939 most of the available Crown lands within the 'Police Zone', the area outside the Reserves, had been disposed of, and the Government resorted to the purchasing of land from companies in order to allocate it to White immigrant settlers. Today even this source is exhausted and now the Administration has embarked upon a new invasion of the non-White areas."

Speaking of education Mr. Kosonguizi said: "Of the £803,853 public expenditure on education in the 1952-53 financial year, £659,781 was spent on White education. During the 1952-53 financial year, the average Government expenditure per pupil was as follows: White £42 13s.; Coloured £21 5s.; African (Police Zone) £10 15s.; African (elsewhere) 14s. 9d."

In a letter to *The Times* (November 14, 1957) Mr. Scott said that the establishment of a Good Offices Committee had been welcomed as a more "moderate and conciliatory course" than reference to the International Court for its compulsory jurisdiction. "It is therefore to be hoped that these negotiations will be taken seriously and they will be conducted not on a narrowly political or juridical basis, but rather in a way which could conceivably help South Africa towards a better understanding and solution of problems which are not peculiarly her own in the world of today."

"It may be that co-operation between Britain and America in facing this problem with important implications in Africa will pave the way for co-operation between Britain and America with a more long-term vision of economic and social development in Africa. An example might be made of this in the High Commission Territories. Could not a commission be set up for these territories which would be able to draw upon the resources of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations especially the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Technical Assistance Board, and the International Bank?"

"South Africa could then perhaps be persuaded by example as well as by negotiation to regard the 'outside world' as not necessarily hostile

¹DIGEST V, 2.

and lacking in understanding of African problems and to see how the enthusiastic co-operation of Africans can be won for the conservation and use of their land and human resources."

Conditions in Windhoek

An article in the *Johannesburg Star* (September 10, 1957) described Windhoek as younger than Johannesburg but with a European tradition that rivalled Hamburg's or Dusseldorf's and continued: "Windhoek is the most industrious town that I have come upon recently. It is bursting its seams with all the building activity going on here. The cost of living is fantastically high. Lorry drivers earn as much as £100 a month and building workers rake in twice the wages their counterparts in the Union earn. . . ."

"The South-West African Administration give their employees generous housing allowances. A senior official in the Windhoek post office told me that he only pays £2 16s. a month for a brand-new, three-bedroomed house. The highest rent under this scheme is £4 1s."

The writer said: "Windhoek has at last decided to clear up the Herero location in Windhoek, frequently quoted at the U.N. as the 'most gruesome and nauseating' slum in the world. They are building a Herero township outside the town, at a cost of £1,000,000. I drove through the location and was shocked at what I saw. Johannesburg's Moroka is like a garden city compared to this human compound constructed of broken motor-cars, cardboard and flattened paraffin tins."

Diamond Dispute

Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, as chairman of the Consolidated Diamond Mines of South-West Africa, is challenging the Administration of South-West Africa and a company, known as South-West Prospektors, in one of the biggest diamond mining disputes in South African history.

It concerns a concession granted last year to Mr. J. J. M. Van Zyl, M.P. for Swakopmund, by Mr. D. T. Viljoen, Administrator for South-West Africa, to prospect for diamonds on the foreshore between the mouth of the Orange River and Luederitz. This is a distance of 170 miles. The Anglo American Corporation, of which Consolidated Diamond Mines are a subsidiary, hold the area to be their exclusive territory. Mr. Van Zyl's concession stretches from the high water mark to the low water mark and 800 yards into the Atlantic Ocean and lasts till 1977.

When Sir Ernest became aware in June 1956 of the negotiations, he wrote to the Secretary for South-West Africa asserting that his company's rights extended over the whole of the foreshore to the low water mark. Mr. Viljoen differed, and said that Consolidated's mineral rights in South-West Africa extended only to high water mark. (*Daily Telegraph*, November 8, 1957.)

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

New South African Approach to Incorporation

A PLEA for the "liberation" of certain Bantu peoples, and for the creation of separate Bantu states, embracing land contributed by the Union and the protectorates, was made by Professor L. J. du Plessis, of Potchefstroom University, in *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus*. (September 10, 1957.) He based his article on the announcement by the British High Commission that Basutoland would receive powers to determine internal affairs,¹ and on the demand by the United Nations that the Non-Europeans in South-West Africa should be given full political rights.

Pointing out the need for a new approach to the problem of the protectorates and South-West Africa, he said it would appear that under the Union's own slowly-developing Native policy, little progress would be made towards incorporation.

The only hope lay in the Union becoming the champions of the Bantu in question in order to "liberate" them from all foreign domination. There

¹DIGEST V, 2.

would have to be a proviso, however, that for their own safety, the Bantu should remain linked to the Western defence policy, together with the Union, against Eastern imperialism of the Communists.

The way out would be for the Union to declare as its policy (with the concurrence of Britain and the Western powers in U.N.) the creation of independent Bantu states in Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Ovamboland. The territories would embrace land occupied by the Bantu in the protectorates, South-West Africa and the Union.

The European areas would be incorporated in the Union, and the system of government in these Bantu states would be determined by the Bantu themselves, but their foreign relations would be determined in consultation with the Union.

Professor du Plessis said the Union could not allow Britain to create independent Bantu states "within the Union's borders" and that would happen if the Union did not stop it. Nor could the Union allow the U.N. to place South-West Africa under trusteeship, which would be done if the Union did not grant full political rights to the Non-Europeans. Nor could South Africa let the United States and Russia, in competition with each other, incite the Union's Non-Europeans to revolt against European domination, a certain eventuality if the Union did not offer to the rising Bantu prospects of real self-government. (*Pretoria News*, September 9, 1957.)

Dr. Verwoerd said that "work was going on in consolidating African areas in relation to the Protectorates". Britain and the Protectorate people should remember that non-fulfilment of the incorporation promise would harm not the Whites but the interests of the Africans. The whole object of the Government's policy was to give the African an opportunity of developing fully in his own area. 400,000 foreign Africans had been "sent back", and stricter control was exercised over those leaving the reserves; single labourers were encouraged, while it was made more difficult for their families to join them. The inflow of Protectorate Africans was being strictly controlled. "Incidentally, if I could lay my hands on any High Commission Natives who were involved in the Johannesburg disturbances it would go hard with them." (*Star*, September 18, 1957.)

Basutoland

Basuto Congress

THE Basutoland African Congress has called on the Paramount Chief Regent Mantsebo Seeiso to demand from the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations the immediate institution of a legislative council in Basutoland.

Congress also urged her to ask for the removal from office of the Resident Commissioner, Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, because he was South African, and for an undertaking that Basutoland would never be incorporated in the Union unless this was approved by a two-thirds majority of the Basuto. Congress asked for the abolition of colour discrimination and for the appointment of a commission of inquiry into "medicine murders". This commission should consist of two members either from the United Nations or such Commonwealth countries as India and Ghana, two from Britain, and two Basuto appointed by the Basutoland National Council. (*Star*, September 9, 1957.)

Clarifying their statement on incorporation into the Union the Congress said that a federal arrangement might be considered between Basutoland and the Union after Basutoland has attained self-rule, and also after the Union has changed radically from her present political philosophy and practice based on race and colour.

"Only in that event might the Basuto consider forming a federal union with South Africa, provided a two-thirds majority accepted such an arrangement." (*Star*, September 17, 1957.)

In an editorial comment, the *Star* (September 18, 1957) said: "If there is a country in the world, however, that is essentially incapable of standing alone, it is an enclave situated like Basutoland. . . . With all its external trade necessarily flowing through the Union and with much of its economic life based on the earnings of about 100,000 Basuto workers in the Union—out of 600,000 inhabitants—Basutoland could never hope to achieve any

of the comparative freedom of action which is one of the conditions of political independence. . . . They may resist by all their means the idea of incorporation into the Union, though it is conceivable that new orientations of policy and outlook in this country could break down that opposition. Not even the more intransigent Basuto nationalists, however, should fail to appreciate the wisdom of the idea that for Basutoland, and possibly also for the other protectorates, the road to the future is towards a form of federal link with the Union."

Government Service Conditions

Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, Resident Commissioner, in the course of an interview with *Mohlabani* replied to questions about conditions of service for African and European nurses. He said that at present there was no provision for the appointment of African nurses as sisters, but the Government intended to make this soon. African sisters will be paid three-quarters of the salary earned by European sisters.

Mr. Chaplin said that at present there were no Africans qualified to fill the posts of Administrative Secretary in the Medical Department, and Senior Postmaster. It was Government policy to Africanize the Civil Service. Clerical posts would have to be Africanized first. At present Europeans were being employed on contract so that posts could be filled with Basuto as they qualified. Africans were in the Treasury and the Registry, and the Agricultural Department also had Africans holding senior posts. (*Mohlabani*, November, 1957.)

WEST AFRICA Ghana

Limited Emergency Powers

UNDER the new Emergency Powers Bill the Governor-General can only exercise emergency powers when he is satisfied that a state of emergency exists. The Bill provides for three types of emergency, national, local and limited. Once the Governor-General has proclaimed a national or local state of emergency he may make provision for the detention or deportation of persons or their exclusion from Ghana. In the event of a local emergency he may provide for their exclusion from the emergency area. All orders must be signed by him and not by the Minister of the Interior.

The *Observer* (November 10, 1957) commented: "The new Bill also introduces several important safeguards, not provided by the existing United Kingdom Emergency Powers Orders. In addition to the summoning of Parliament within ten days in event of national emergency, it must be consulted as soon as practicable in case of action under local or limited emergency declarations. The most significant new safeguard is that even during a national emergency the Government cannot suspend the Constitution, nor can it postpone elections. . . ."

"The Bill represents a defeat for the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Krobo Edusei, whose own 'Wider Powers' Bill, providing for internal deportation to be made at his own dictation, has been rejected by the Cabinet."

Deportations Appeal Rejected¹

Mr. Justice H. C. Smith ruled in the Ashanti Division of the High Court that the court had no power to inquire into the special Deportation Act made against Alhaji Amadu Baba and Alhaji Larden Lalemie, who are now in Nigeria. Special leave to appeal was granted.

In the course of the hearing he said that he was "most concerned and upset" about an undertaking which had not been kept. The two men were deported under a special Act passed in the National Assembly after Mr. Geoffrey Bing, Q.C., Attorney-General, had given an undertaking on behalf of the Crown that they would not be removed from the jurisdiction of the Court until their claim to Ghana citizenship had been heard. Mr. Bing, referring "with reluctance" to the undertaking, said that no disrespect or discourtesy was intended either to the Judge or to the Court. He said: "I acted on instructions and as far as I am concerned I consider that I behaved properly."

¹DIGEST V, 2.

Mr. Phineas Quass, Q.C., who appeared for the two Alhajis, said that as a member of the English and Ghana Bars he found it distressing that another member of these same bars had apparently broken an undertaking to the Court. Mr. Bing contended that the principal purpose of the present proceedings was to attack the special Act of Parliament. "There is nothing in this Act which is not valid and does not hold," he declared. Mr. Quass said that if the Act under which the deportations were carried out was valid it robbed the two Alhajis of their one refuge—recourse to the courts. While not seeking to cut down the sovereign powers of an independent country, he submitted that the Act should be removed from the Statute Book. (*West Africa*, October 5 and November 2, 1957.)

At the end of October deportation orders were issued against another¹ two leaders of the Gao and Moshie communities.

Sentences for Political Kidnapping

Twelve members of the Convention People's Party, the Ghana Government party, were sent to prison for periods of up to twelve months on charges arising out of the kidnapping of four political opponents. The victims of the alleged kidnapping were members of the Ga Shifimo Kpee,² a tribal organization now merged in the new United Party.

Government Drops Contempt of Court Case³

In a broadcast to the people of Ghana, the Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, said that the Attorney-General, Mr. Geoffrey Bing, Q.C., had informed him that in the present circumstances he did not propose to continue with the court proceedings against Mr. Ian Colvin of the *Daily Telegraph*. Dr. Nkrumah said that "this decision means that it will not now be necessary for Mr. Colvin to return to this country. As a consequence the question of Mr. Christopher Shawcross, Q.C., or any other lawyer, coming to defend Mr. Colvin will not arise." He added, however, that the Government had decided that it would be in the best interests of all concerned "not to allow these two gentlemen to re-enter Ghana until some time has passed and a sense of proportion has been restored. I wish to stress, however, that any lawyer who fulfils the conditions imposed by our laws as to entry into Ghana and admission to our Bar will always be welcome in Ghana."

Writs claiming damages for alleged unlawful detention and slander filed in Accra by the *Daily Telegraph* and Mr. Colvin against the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, the Attorney-General and the Commissioner of Police have been withdrawn. (*West Africa*, September 28, 1957.)

Press Freedom

Dr. Nkrumah has received a letter from Lord Astor of Haver, president of the Commonwealth Press Union, which states: "We have all been glad to have your assurance that freedom of the Press in Ghana is not endangered in any way. . . . I would like to assure you that the union has the greatest goodwill for the new State of Ghana and that, whilst the freedom of the Press throughout the Commonwealth and beyond must be to us a great concern, we do want to co-operate with you in every way we can." (*The Times*, November 14, 1957.)

United Party of the Opposition

Dr. K. A. Busia, Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly, told a public rally of the National Liberation Movement that six opposition groups had decided to unite into one political body.

Dr. Busia said: "Representatives of the Northern People's Party, the Muslim Association Party, the National Liberation Movement, the Ga Adangbe Shifimo Kpee, the Warsaw Youth Organization and the Ashanti Youth Organization, in conference at Kumasi resolved that in order to achieve our national aspiration of setting up true democratic government, our various organizations be constituted into one political body."

In the National Assembly the Convention People's Party has a majority of forty over all other parties combined in the 104-seat House.

Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, described as "welcome news" the decision of six opposition groups to merge into one body. He said that since the formation of the C.P.P. Dr. Nkrumah had been advising the formation of national, as opposed to sectional,

¹DIGEST V, 2. ²DIGEST V, 2. ³DIGEST V, 2.

parties. Later the C.P.P. Central Committee said in a statement that "it noted with satisfaction" the decision of the opposition groups to merge. "We of the C.P.P. have always known that to achieve our aspiration of setting up a true democratic government, sectional political parties and tribalism should be discountenanced in favour of national political parties," the statement said.

Mr. R. R. Amponsah, general secretary of the National Liberation Movement, announced that the six Opposition groups would be known as the United Party. The objects of the United Party would be: "To build on the foundation of their traditions and culture a true parliamentary democracy and to see that it is practised by whatever party is in power; to see to it that the constitution, as by law established, is upheld and strictly adhered to; to preserve by deeds and by words the fundamental rights and liberties of the individual and to secure true freedom and justice for all in accordance with the Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations; to uphold and maintain the institution of chieftaincy and the rights of the people to their lands and to ensure that the chiefs play a democratic, effective and useful part in the development of Ghana; to give all equal opportunity to develop their talents to enable them to contribute their maximum towards the welfare and progress of Ghana; to make the best use of the resources of our country in order to increase our production, to achieve full employment for our people and to improve conditions of service for all workers; to encourage the investment of capital by creating confidence at home and abroad through stable and efficient administration based on Government by persuasion; to maintain a loyal, efficient and independent civil service, free from interference and threats of victimization and to ensure the security of officers whatever may be their origin; to preserve the independence of the judiciary to uphold the rule of law based on reason and natural justice and to ensure that every one is equal and free before the law; to make our contribution towards the liberation of colonial territories to full independence, and to initiate, or co-operate in, schemes for the rapid development of Africa; and to seek by negotiation and agreement between adjacent independent African nations, the settlement of problems created by the arbitrary imposition of imperialist frontiers." (*West Africa*, October 19, 1957.)

Recognition Withdrawn

A nine-man delegation from a gathering of chiefs at Dodowa, called on Dr. Nkrumah and requested reconsideration of the Government's decision withdrawing recognition from Nana Ofori Atta II, of Akim Abuakwa State. The Ministry of Local Government had earlier issued a statement that the Government had decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the administration of the Akim Abuakwa State. Pending the report of the Commission, the statement said the Government considers "it would not be appropriate for Nana Ofori Atta to continue to exercise any statutory functions conferred on him by the Government".

Regional Commissioners

Five Ghana M.P.s have been appointed Regional Commissioners. They are: Eastern Region: Mr. E. H. T. Korboe, M.P. for Yilo Krobo; Western Region: Mr. J. E. Hagan (Abura-Asebu); Trans-Volta Togoland Region: Mr. C. H. Chapman (Anlo East); Ashanti: Mr. C. de Graft Dickson (Ashanti-Akim); and Northern Region: Mr. L. R. Abavana (Kasena-Nankanni South).

The Commissioners will have ministerial rank and, according to a Government statement, "will be the representatives of the Government in their Regions and will be personally and directly responsible to the Government for the administration of their Regions. They will be responsible for explaining Government policy in the Regions and for seeing that this policy is effectively carried out." (*West Africa*, October 26, 1957.)

The Times (November 1) commented on the reaction in the Northern Territories to the appointment of a Regional Commissioner. "These changes are regarded with the deepest suspicion in Opposition circles and terms such as *gauleiter* and commissar are being freely bandied. Judging by regional and general election results, the north is rather over 50 per cent oppositional. The latest move is thus seen as an attempt by the ruling Convention People's Party to clamp down on the north. The Northern Regional Council, an indirectly elected body, has passed a resolution to

the effect that the Lennox-Boyd agreement provided for a commission to examine the whole problem of regional assemblies with which is related the establishment of the Houses of Chiefs and the choice of regional heads, possibly elected from among the chiefs. This commission is not likely to report for some months and the Northern People's Party feel that the Government has jumped the gun in taking such a drastic step as appointing a political Regional Commissioner in the meantime. . . .

"There are really three instruments of government developing side by side here. The first is the chiefs, who are still probably the strongest single element in a backward region like the Northern Territories. The second is the local government councils recently developed on the British pattern. These are a young, tender, and exotic plant. One wonders whether they will flourish or fade. Certainly they will need years of solicitous nursing. Thirdly, there is the old administrative service which carries on much as before—with the significant change that it is now almost exactly half African.

"The appointment of the Regional Commissioner is likely to do two things. The first is to strengthen the administrative element in government as opposed to the chieftaincy and local council elements. The second is that, in the words of a British administrative officer, it will 'gather up the reins of a loosely cantering horse'. . . .

"There is no doubt that administrative tidiness demands some better means than exists at present of interpreting Government policy to the regions and the regions' needs to the Government.

"It is an unfortunate outcome of the existing regional suspicions that what might be regarded as a purely practical method of fulfilling this need is here regarded as threatening encroachment of the Central Government on the regional field."

Economic Adviser

Professor Arthur Lewis has been appointed Economic Adviser to the Ghana Government. Professor Lewis, who is 42, will be required to "give advice on such questions as the Prime Minister refers to him from time to time". He first visited the Gold Coast in 1952 when he investigated the problem of the development of secondary industries. His report on industrialization and the Gold Coast was published in 1953. Professor Lewis also analysed the interests of the Gold Coast in the Volta River Project. Professor Lewis who was a member of the United Nations Groups of Experts on Under-developed Countries in 1951 was appointed consultant to the Gold Coast Government in 1953 and to the Western Nigerian Government in 1955. Professor Lewis was recruited by the U.N. Technical Assistance Administration at the request of the Ghana Government. (*West Africa*, September 28, 1957.)

Ghana Seeks Loans

The Minister of Finance, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah said that Ghana would have to turn elsewhere if Western countries failed to provide loans for the £300 millions Volta River project.

He was speaking after his return from a tour of Europe and America seeking loans for the scheme and was asked whether Ghana would have to turn to Russia if the World Bank or any other organization in Western countries failed her. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 5, 1957.)

Government Changes

The Ghana Government announced that Mr. Kojo Botsio, at present Minister of Trade and Development, has been appointed Minister of State charged with responsibility for Parliamentary business and the coordination of Government policy and legislation. It was also announced by the Convention People's Party—the Government Party—that Mr. Botsio had been appointed Secretary of the Central Committee.

The Ministry is to be renamed the Ministry of Trade and the new Minister is to be Mr. P. K. Quaidoo, at present its Parliamentary Secretary. In announcing this change of name, the Government statement said that Dr. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister, would take over the development functions previously exercised by the Minister of Trade and Development. "In addition, he will continue to take charge of general development policy and work associated with the Volta River project. He will also be responsible for industrialization policy." (*The Times*, November 1, 1957.)

Conference of Independent African States

Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, said that preliminary arrangements had been completed for a conference of independent African States in Accra early next year. The only country unwilling to attend, the Minister said, was South Africa.

Provisional agenda for the conference included foreign policy, the future of dependent territories in Africa, the racial problem, with the safeguarding of the sovereignty of the independent African States. Promotion of economic co-operation between African States, based on exchange of technical, scientific and educational information, would also be discussed, as would the problem of international peace. Countries attending are Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia.

The *Daily Telegraph* (November 12, 1957) commented: "Except that they all happen to be situated on the same vast continent, none of the states concerned can be said to have very much in common. But this was true of the Afro-Asian Powers that gathered at Bandoeng in 1955. Just as there is no such thing as 'one Asia' so there is no 'one Africa'. Yet the Bandoeng conference did nevertheless reveal—if not a common interest—at least a common mood, of which, of course, anti-colonialism was the lowest common denominator. . . .

"It is permissible to wonder just what kind of a joint foreign policy such disparate states can fashion for themselves. . . . Since United Nations voting is one of the principal weapons to hand much thought will probably be given to African tactics at the current and future sessions of the General Assembly. . . . It will certainly add greatly to Dr. Nkrumah's value to future Commonwealth conferences if he can act as spokesman for a body of African opinion that vitally affects our future on that continent."

Nigeria

Cabinet Change¹

CHIEF FESTUS OKOTIE-EOH relinquished the portfolio of Labour and Welfare on his appointment as Finance Minister. Mr. J. M. Johnson became Minister of Labour and Welfare in addition to being Minister of Internal Affairs.

Constitutional Commissions²

Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has appointed a commission to examine the problems of minorities in Nigeria, in accordance with the agreement reached at the constitutional conference. Sir Henry Willink, Q.C., Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, will be chairman, and the other members are Sir Gordon Hadow, formerly Deputy Governor of the Gold Coast, Mr. Philip Mason, director of studies in race relations, Chatham House, and Mr. J. B. Shearer, manager for Greece of the Ionian Bank, Ltd.

The London conference agreed that the commission's task would be to propose means of allaying the fears of minorities and to consider what safeguards should be included in the constitution.

The commission's terms of reference continue: "If, but only if, no other solution seems to the commission to meet the case, then as a last resort it should make detailed recommendations for this purpose for the creation of one or more new states and in that case should: (a) specify the precise area to be included in such state or states; (b) recommend the governmental and administrative structure most appropriate for it; (c) assess whether any new state recommended would be viable from an economic point of view, and what the effect of its creation would be on the region or regions from which it would be created and on the Federation."

Lord Merthyr has been appointed chairman of a commission, set up in accordance with the recommendations of the constitutional conference, to decide the division of the Federation of Nigeria into 320 electoral districts for elections to be held in 1960. The other members of the commission will be Mr. T. Farley Smith, formerly Administrative Secretary, Nigeria, and Mr. J. F. A. Lees, Principal Surveyor in the Federal Survey Department.

It was agreed at the London conference that a new House should be

¹DIGEST V, 2. ²DIGEST V, 1.

formed in 1960 consisting of 320 representatives, elected on the basis of one for approximately each 100,000 of the population. (*The Times*, September 19 and 26, 1957.)

Attracting Capital

The Western Nigerian Premier, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, told a recent regional conference of his party, the Action Group, that Nigeria needed very badly and urgently foreign investments as well as foreign technical skills. His Government was determined to protect foreign capital against expropriation or confiscation. They would also place no obstacle in the way of repatriation of profits or capital, and there would be no nationalization without fullest compensation.

He added: "We must not allow foreign monopoly in any field of industrial venture. By this I mean that we must not allow a foreign investor to go it alone."

They were anxious that a foreign investor should always take into partnership in any new venture, either the Government or any of its agencies, or private indigenous investors. The latter class of investors were almost non-existent just now and, until they were forthcoming, it was only fair that the Government, as the trustees of their people, insisted on financial participation in any new industrial venture. (*The Commonwealth News Agency*, October 23, 1957.)

Political Opposition

The coalition government of the Federal Prime Minister, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, has been the subject of a fierce attack. In a statement issued jointly with Malam Aminu Kano (president-general of the Northern Elements Progressive Union), Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu, former Federal Minister of Social Services and now leader of the Opposition in the Western House of Assembly, condemned the coalition government at the centre as a Northern Peoples' Congress-Action Group show in which his own party, the N.C.N.C., was an unwilling partner. The statement condemned the three national leaders including Mr. Adelabu's own leader, Dr. Azikiwe, for sponsoring a National Government.

The authors of the statement, who declared themselves to be the "standard bearers of the leftist wing of the N.C.N.C.-N.E.P.U. Alliance", accused the coalition government of seeking to preserve the present regional arrangement and the three Regional Premiers of "preserving intact their areas of jurisdiction as at present constituted". Their own platform was set out to be the creation of a strong centre with dependent regions, the creation of not less than ten states within the Federation and the ultimate expansion of the Federation into a West African States Union embracing the whole of West Africa south of the Sahara. These aims would follow the federal elections to take place on the basis of direct adult suffrage and the parliament thus elected to declare Nigeria's independence "with or without the consent of Her Majesty's Government". (*New Commonwealth*, October 28, 1957.)

Nigerian Students in Britain

The Government of the Western Region of Nigeria has appointed a Government specialist, Dr. T. O. Lambo, now on leave in the United Kingdom to "investigate the causes of mental illness among Nigerians studying in the U.K. and make recommendations for reducing the incidence among existing and prospective students". Dr. Lambo will be assisted by a clinical psychologist, and a psychiatric social worker.

He will make a study of those who have broken down or are exhibiting symptoms of breakdown; those who have failed to adjust themselves; and those who have adjusted themselves and have been successful in every way. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, October 23, 1957.)

The Position of Northern Nigeria

A special article in *The Times* (October 28, 1957) in reviewing the position of Northern Nigeria said: "Hitherto it has been the brake on Nigerian independence. The Northerners, because of their backwardness in modern education, need to employ outsiders to run the technical side of life for them. This means either Southern Nigerians or British. And they would infinitely prefer British. But last summer they suddenly decided to go in with the rest and seek full independence in 1960. . . .

"Sokoto province is about two-thirds the size of England. A Sultan of the dominant Fulani dynasty rules over 2 million of its inhabitants, most of whom are Hausas. Within its boundaries are three other emirates. All these emirates are administered by their rulers, with the help of their traditional councils and predominantly aristocratic Fulani Civil Service. This is known as the 'native authority'. The law is the Muslim Sharia, administered in the Alkali's courts. It is an administration which has stood the test of time and is efficient within its limits. Patronage is the accepted order and it is vulnerable to corruption. The British element consists of a resident and a handful of administrative and technical officers who remain discreetly in the background. . . .

"The economy of Sokoto rests largely on water. . . . The rivers stretch in a horseshoe from north to south round the western border. In between is bush. The railway from Kano comes up a little beyond Gusau, second largest town in the province. Everywhere the land is scarred with cattle tracks. The green is mostly rice, grown in extensive flood paddies along the river and cultivated from canoes hollowed out of tree trunks.

"This is also the granary of Sokoto. Cash crops include groundnuts, this year affording a record harvest, and tobacco, from which are manufactured the Nigerian 'Bicycle' cigarettes. Mobiloil are shortly to start prospecting for oil. . . .

"The native of Sokoto has no more than an even chance of living to be 20. The administration have marked off a great area containing half a million inhabitants where they are trying to eliminate the malarial mosquito. . . . Now D.D.T. is producing results. The children in the sprayed areas are free of parasites in the blood. But if success is spectacular, the population will be doubled. What then, in a province where famines come with some regularity? Much study is being put into increasing the rice yield. Mechanization has been only partly successful, greater hope lies in improving manual methods, researching for better strains and examining the possibilities of flood control. But the weakest link is education. Only 1.8 per cent of children get to school throughout the province, and even then the results are not good. It is not merely lack of funds and teachers. The population, deeply Islamic as it is, is positively opposed to modern education. The attitude has altered at the top. It is altering among the children themselves, who often want to go to school. It is the ordinary run of peasant parent that remains unmoved. They are particularly opposed to women's education. . . .

"Do the common people want independence? Were their leaders wise to ask it? The Sardauna of Sokoto, a cousin of the Sultan, must bear a large share of the responsibility, for he is Premier of Northern Nigeria. The modern generation of educated *Mallams* are all out for self-government on principle. If Ghana, they say, why not us, with our greater experience in practical administration?

"The old school are divided. Many would prefer to see the British stay. They feel that the tensions in Nigeria today are too great to survive their departure. Others take a different view. It is the British, they feel, who are steadily weakening the semi-theocratic structure of Northern society. It is they who are responsible for educating the pagans, importing Southerners, and encouraging radical parties. If independence there must be, let it come before the rot spreads farther."

Visit of the Princess Royal

During her twelve-day visit to Nigeria in November the Princess Royal visited the Eastern and Western Houses of Assembly to deliver messages from Her Majesty to mark the attaining of self-government in these regions.

In the North she met the Emirs of Zaria and Kano and opened the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology. (*The Times*, October 1 and 8, 1957.)

Dr. Azikiwe Gains Wider Powers

Dr. Azikiwe, Premier of Eastern Nigeria, has reshuffled the national committee of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, the ruling party of the region. This followed the granting to Dr. Azikiwe of considerably increased powers by the N.C.N.C. at the party's convention. He had asked for powers for "drastic control over the party, even in a totalitarian manner". (*The Times*, November 1, 1957.)

Attack on Newspaper

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Premier of Western Nigeria, proposed that the Nigerian Federal Government should take over the ownership and control of the *Daily Times*, the British-owned newspaper and member of the same group as the *Daily Graphic* of Accra, whose deputy editor, Bankole Timothy, was recently deported by the Ghana Government.

He said the *Daily Times* was a menace to the best interests of Nigeria and in the most subtle and adroit manner encouraged strife and discord among Nigerians. It had no stake in the fortunes or misfortunes of the country except in so far as its commercial interests were affected.

The best way to deal with the paper was not "to wait until after self-government and then ban the paper or deport its alien employees". That would be a difficult, cowardly, and undemocratic operation. Instead the proprietorship should be taken over in the next two years and full compensation paid to its owners. The *Daily Times* which is politically independent, has the largest circulation of the three dailies published in Lagos. The others are the *Daily Service*, the organ of the Action Group, and the *West African Pilot*, the organ of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 15, 1957.)

Ibadan Closed

As a sequel to a "students' revolt" against the action of the college authorities in erecting iron fences round students' halls of residence, the University College of Ibadan was closed to undergraduates until January 1958. The fences, which were erected to control strangers entering the college grounds in view of a recent unfortunate incident, were pulled down. Failure by the students responsible to declare themselves to the Principal led to the closure. (*The Times*, November 13, 1957.)

British Cameroons

Progress in the Cameroons

THE *Annual Report* on the Cameroons under U.K. administration presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations for the year 1956 described the political, social and educational advance which took place. In the Northern Cameroons a revision of the Electoral Regulations resulted in the territory having five constituencies (electoral districts) from which representatives are elected to the Northern House of Assembly. The special interests of the Northern Cameroons are in the charge of the Ministry for Northern Cameroons Affairs and the Minister is himself the elected representative of a Northern Cameroons constituency.

A broad measure of agreement was reached on proposals for future constitutional development: these included full regional status for the Southern Cameroons, with an enlarged and almost entirely elected House of Assembly, a House of Chiefs and a Ministerial system of Government. No agreement, however, was reached whether the Southern Cameroons should remain a part of the Federation of Nigeria. The questions of integration and unification have been publicly discussed by all the political parties.

In the Southern Cameroons new Electoral Regulations were introduced which make provision for the registration of electors and voting by secret ballot. Women are entitled to register as electors and to vote. They must, however, be registered as taxpayers first. Very few women in the territory pay tax, so that the number of women who will have qualified to register as electors will be small. Both in the Southern and Northern Cameroons reforms have been made with the object of giving the local inhabitants a fuller share in the management of their own affairs. Many local government authorities are being organized into democratically elected bodies with councils being elected by secret ballot.

The Southern Cameroons' Government is within sight of its health objective of having at least one hospital in each division. (The country is divided into nine administrative divisions and has a total population of 1½ million (approx.)) Twenty-four per cent of the Budget is devoted to education. There are 459 schools in the territory of which 387, including all three secondary schools, are run by voluntary agencies. There are over 52,000 pupils, of whom 10,775 are girls.

On the co-operative side, the production and marketing of bananas, cocoa and coffee by co-operative methods continued to expand.

Gambia

New Governor

MR. E. H. WINDLEY, Minister for African Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner, Kenya has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gambia. Mr. Windley is a Rhodesian aged 48, and was educated at Repton and Cambridge. (*The Times*, October 12 and 15, 1957.)

Sierra Leone

Petition for Royal Commission

A PETITION calling for a Royal Commission to inquire into social, economic, political, and educational conditions, with special reference to the diamond mining industry was presented at the Colonial Office by Dr. Edward Blyden, president of the Independent Movement of Sierra Leone, and Mr. Tamba Mbriwra, Independent representative for Kono in the Legislature. The petition was signed by the signatures or thumbprints of all fourteen paramount chiefs of the Kono district where the diamond riots occurred, and of several hundred lesser chiefs and tribal authorities.

Dr. Blyden said: "The people of the Kono district . . . have protested in vain about the dictatorial privileges given to the diamond-mining company, the Sierra Leone Selection Trust. They say they were never a party to the agreements that gave their lands to the Trust and that the Trust now operates its own police force, which herds them about like cattle. They are told they have no right of appeal to any court."

Mr. Mbriwra said: "It is the Sierra Leone Selection Trust that is the Government in Kono because they are in control of almost everything." (*The Times* and *Manchester Guardian*, November 2, 1957.)

Comment on Diamond Troubles¹

Sir Maurice Dorman, the Governor of Sierra Leone, listed the problems that required to be dealt with. First, protecting the rights of the Selection Trust against illegal diggers encroaching on their land; secondly, the highly organized smuggling trade, which can be eliminated only when the key figures have been immobilized; and thirdly, the social and economic problems that have followed in the wake of the diamond rush to the remote and poorly developed Northern Province of the colony. (*Observer*, September 15, 1957.)

At a meeting held by the Sierra Leone Students' Union, Mr. Tamba Bona, younger brother of the chief of the Kono district, whose grandfather was a party to the original concession to the company, said there was no alternative employment to take young men's minds off diamond digging, that too little of the revenue produced in the district was spent there, and that the company's concession, extended in 1955, was not clearly marked as the old one had been.

Mr. Abu Koroma, who also comes from the area, pointed out that although 45,000 "stranger Africans" had been expelled, none of the Syrian merchants concerned in illicit diamond buying had so far suffered more than fines.

Mr. E. C. Wharton-Tigar, executive director of the Sierra Leone Selection Trust, said that he felt that the Sierra Leone development trust fund was "not dealt with very well and that not enough was going to Kono." (*The Times*, September 21, 1957.)

U.P.P. Wins By-Elections

The United Progressive Party won all three seats in the by-elections to the House of Representatives in the Freetown Central, Freetown West and Port Loko East constituencies.² The by-elections were ordered by the Supreme Court after election petitions had been brought against those who topped the polls in the three constituencies in the general election last May. (*West Africa*, November 9, 1957.)

¹DIGEST IV, 3, and V, 2. ²DIGEST IV, 6, and V, 2.

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

Belgian Congo

Power Plan¹

A COUNCIL of Ministers, presided over by King Baudouin in Brussels, decided to continue the preparatory work for the construction of the first dam of the Inga hydro-electric scheme on the Congo between Leopoldville and Matadi.

A national institute for the study of economic development of the Lower Congo will be given extensive powers to fulfil the scheme under the supervision of the Minister of the Colonies and with the assistance of the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo. The total cost is estimated at £1,128 million. (*The Times*, November 14, 1957.)

An international committee of experts, including an American from the Tennessee Valley Authority, are completing plans for the scheme which will produce three times as much electricity as the total consumption of Britain. It is claimed that power from Inga will be from 30 to 50 per cent cheaper than power in the United States. It will foster, therefore, all types of industry, but particularly electro-metal and electro-chemical plants and the refinery of West African and South American bauxite into aluminium. Development in agriculture and forestry could accompany the Lower Congo's industrialization.

M. Auguste Buisseret, Belgium's Colonial Minister, declared that Euratom, the proposed six-nation Atomic Energy Pool, and other European powers, including Britain, may need the lion's share of Inga's power output at some time in the future for the production of enriched uranium isotopes necessary for the functioning of atomic power stations. He stressed that Belgian capital would retain majority control, and Belgian sovereignty would not be affected. (*Pretoria News*, September 3, 1957.)

Comparative Educational Figures

According to statistics, supplied by the Government of the Belgian Congo, there are now approximately 1.3 million pupils attending 27,000 schools in the Congo, with a total staff of 4,000 European and 44,000 Congolese teachers. Since the Congo's population is now of the order of 13 million this means that it has about 1,000 pupils for every 100,000 inhabitants. Comparable figures, according to United Nations' statistics, for Ghana are 7,000 pupils for every 100,000 inhabitants; for Egypt 6,500; for Nigeria 4,000; and for Liberia, 1,700; 270,000 of the pupils are girls. There are also 15,000 Congolese now attending nearly 400 technical and agricultural colleges and 144 students following university or pre-university courses at the two universities of Lovanium and Elisabethville. (*West Africa*, November 9, 1957.)

French Africa

Federation Proposed

THE R.D.A. (African Democratic Rally) held possibly its most important Congress at Bamako, capital of the French Sudan. M. Houphouët-Boigny, who is leader of the African Democratic Rally, Minister of State in the French Government, president of the Grand Council of West Africa and head of the Government of the Ivory Coast, proclaimed as his party's objective "the creation of a great federal egalitarian State with a federal Parliament and Government, composed of autonomous federated States, one of them being Metropolitan France herself". (*Manchester Guardian*, September 28, 1957.)

The R.D.A. controls all the territorial governments in French West Africa except Senegal and Niger.² The two parties which are strong there, B.P.S. (Bloc Populaire Senegalais) and M.A.S. (Mouvement Socialiste

¹DIGEST V, 2. ²DIGEST IV, 6.

Africaine) under the leadership of Leopold Senghor and Lamine Gueye respectively, were represented at the Congress.

In its resolutions, the Congress sent a "pressing call" to the French Government to treat with the authentic representatives of the Algerian people with a view to putting an end to that fratricidal struggle and to building together a vast democratic community of peoples, which will guarantee respect for the "personality of Algeria".

In the economic sphere, the Congress gave an assurance of political security for both public and private investment which were aiding the material advancement of Black Africa.

The Congress stressed the need for unity in the trade union movement and welcomed the creation of U.G.T.A.N. (General Workers' Union of Black Africa). Other resolutions referred to health, housing, education and youth work. The committee of the R.D.A. which was elected included Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Modibo Keita, Prime Minister of Sudan, Sekou Touré, Prime Minister of Guinea, Gabriel Lisette, Prime Minister of Chad, Ouezzin Coulibaly, Prime Minister of Haute Volta, and Gabriel d'Arbossier, Vice-President of the Grand Conseil of French West Africa and formerly Prime Minister of the Ivory Coast.

Visitors to the Congress who spoke included M. Edgar Faure, M. Francois Mitterrand and M. Mendes-France and representatives of most of the active political groups and trade unions in all the French African territories. Over 800 delegates and observers from ten French African territories took part in the meetings.

After the Congress M. Houphouet-Boigny said the R.D.A. congress at Bamako had unanimously opted for membership of a Franco-African community instead of for national independence. "It is a thing without precedent in the history of colonized peoples to choose collaboration instead of independence," he said. "If we had been colonized by the Anglo-Saxons, there is no doubt that we would have chosen independence even at the cost of economic disadvantages. But in France we think we can catch a note of human fraternity. . . . We need France, but we believe that France likewise needs the advantages of a Franco-African community of free peoples founded on an absolute equality of rights and duties. We want a common federal executive and we want its aims defined now. . . ."

M. Gabriel Lisette said that a big effort of investment by France was needed in Africa, otherwise there was a danger that the present movement in favour of a Franco-African community would break up into a series of movements for national independence. (*West Africa*, October 12, 1957.)

The Territorial Assembly of the Gabon, one of the four territories of French Equatorial Africa (AEF), has unanimously voted against the creation of federal executives for either AEF or French West Africa (AOF). The R.D.A. party is in power in the Gabon; the debate in the territorial assembly followed the R.D.A. congress at Bamako, at which both the Gabon and the Ivory Coast delegations showed that they disagreed with delegations from the other territories over the question of federal executives. They did not, however, vote against the resolution, unanimously adopted at Bamako, which called for the "democratization of existing federal organs". M. Auguste Denise, Prime Minister of the Ivory Coast, stated at Abidjan, the capital, that the Ivory Coast delegation at Bamako would not have supported the re-election of M. Houphouet-Boigny to the presidency of the R.D.A., had the work of the congress resulted in the creation of a federal executive at Dakar. A federal executive, he, said would be a kind of super-government, and would open the door to secession. He was presumably implying that the Ivory Coast would secede from such a federation.

In France a small but influential group of M.P.s including M. Francois Mitterrand and M. Rene Pleven has decided to establish a new movement R.D.C.A.F. (Democratic Rally for Franco-African Community). M. Mitterrand, the National President, repeated the arguments that were put forward at the Bamako R.D.A. Congress for the creation of a French-African Federation, making French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, and also Algeria, equal states with Metropolitan France, in an immense Federation, similar to the British Commonwealth.

He was supported by M. Felix Houphouet-Boigny, President of the R.D.A. (African Democratic Rally), which works and votes with U.D.S.R. in the French Parliament and by M. Edgar Faure, President of the R.G.R. (Rally of Left Republicans). (*West Africa*, November 2, 1957.)

Vast Aluminium Resources in Guinea

Deposits of bauxite, sufficient to produce 2 million tons of aluminium annually for at least 100 years have been discovered in French Guinea. They are at Boke, north-east of Conakry and at Fria. At Boke concessions are held by Les Bauxites De Midi, subsidiary of Canadian Aluminium Limited, which has been shipping about 450,000 tons of bauxite annually to Canada from the islands of Los, just off Conakry.

The new Boke project will cost about £35 million and production is scheduled to start in 1961. The conversion of the bauxite into aluminium will take place in Canada, since electric power cannot be obtained cheaply enough.

At Fria, Pechiney-Ugine, the French aluminium producers have formed a consortium, with British, American, and Swiss interests. Hydro-electric power will be provided from a dam at Souapiti, on the Konkoure river. The French Government, the International Bank and Canadian, German and Italian interests are helping to finance the power project.

The scheme will involve capital investment of about £215 million. By 1960, some raw material will be ready for export to Edea in the French Cameroons where there is a smelting plant and in 1965 aluminium will be produced at Fria itself. Surplus electric power will probably be used for the establishment of a steel industry using the new electrolytic process.

The new projects will severely tax the economy of Guinea and raise problems similar to that of the Volta River Scheme in Ghana. French Guinea, with 2 million inhabitants, is a sprawling country, between Sierra Leone and Portuguese Guinea. It also shares borders with the Senegal, the French Sudan, the Ivory Coast, and Liberia. It is one of the eight territories that form the French West Africa (A.O.F.) and has as its Prime Minister, M. Sekou Touré, the prominent R.D.A. leader. The annual budget is around £14 million. The principal exports are bananas, pineapples, bauxite, and iron ore. Diamond production has been stimulated by events in Sierra Leone. Large iron ore reserves also exist and extraction which started in 1953 is now at the rate of 1 million tons a year. (*West Africa*, October 26, 1957.)

Trusteeship Council Discusses Togoland

The United Nations Trusteeship Council considered the report of the U.N. Commission on the new status of the Autonomous Republic of French Togoland. The French delegate, M. Jacques Kocziusko-Morizet, said that France had "always taken the view" that the people of Togoland and their Government should be allowed "to decide alone on the form of its domestic political situation". He said that the French Government found no difficulty in "solemnly reaffirming" that the present statute, put into force in August 1956,¹ was not the final stage of relations between France and French Togoland.

Syria's delegate, Dr. Jawdat Mufti, said that the Trusteeship Council could not recommend an end of trusteeship for French Togoland until it knew more about the relationships between the administering power and the Togolese authorities. "Contrary to the contention of the representative of the Togolese Government," he said, "the Togolese authorities are not on a footing of equality, constitutionally speaking, with the French authorities as regards amendment of the statute. They are actually subordinate."

The Trusteeship Council passed a revised form of a resolution submitted by the United States which commended France for "broadly interpreting and liberally applying" the statute and "noted with satisfaction" the way in which the Togoland Government had exercised the powers transferred to it by France. The voting was nine for and none against, with five abstentions (Burma, Guatemala, the Soviet Union, Syria, and India).

It also noted with satisfaction the intention of the Togoland Government to hold new elections before 1960 on a basis of direct universal suffrage. (*West Africa*, September 21, 1957, and October 5, 1957.)

British and French Policies Compared

At the first meeting of the Territorial Assembly of Moyen-Congo at Brazzaville, M. Christian Jayle, an elected European Member and Chairman of the Finance Committee, compared British and French policy in Africa, which he described as "different and profoundly opposed in conception". He went on: "The Englishman, pragmatic and using a business-

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

man's judgement, was chiefly interested in territories which seemed to him the richest and were the most thickly populated. His first care was to develop existing resources so that the Gold Coast before becoming independent as the new state of Ghana, had at its disposal an annual revenue per inhabitant greater than that of Spain today.

"You are rich, say the English, so you can be free. We are off. Simply stay in the Commonwealth. . . . The Englishman feels encumbered when he has to deal with other people's affairs. Correspondingly what he wants most is that others should not concern themselves with his affairs. Born in an island which seems today a bit like a ship anchored off the port of Europe every Englishman has the impression of commanding the ship and wants to be its sole master after God.

"The Frenchman . . . persuades himself that he has been put into the world to explain and spread the truth, which he often confuses with his own way of life or of thinking . . . He pays attention to detail. This gives him the taste for lawmaking for everyone and for imposing his law, even if he has to use arms . . . he makes no difference between his own affairs and those of others and he thinks legislation should be uniform and shared and that is why the French Parliament, in deciding the affairs of France, calls on the overseas members to decide as well as their own. . . .

"We have made of French Africa, in the first place, an administrative and military edifice and we are continuing to perfect it, now with your co-operation and even under your direction, hoping only that the train will not leave the rails, which we have laid for you, at the point where the travellers become drivers." (*Inter Afrique Presse*, October 25, 1957.)

Clashes in Cameroons

Serious political trouble is reported to have broken out in the French Cameroons, where the activity of the U.P.C. (Union of the Populations of the Cameroons), a political organization with Communist tendencies, has led to clashes in which three people have been killed and five injured. The U.P.C., which was dissolved three years ago, is asking for the total independence of the French Cameroons. (*The Times*, November 11, 1957.)

GENERAL

U.N. Economic Commission for Africa

A twenty-nine power resolution recommending that the Economic and Social Council, at its next session, give prompt and favourable consideration to the establishment of an economic commission for Africa was adopted by the Economic and Financial Committee by 72 votes to nil with 2 abstentions (United Kingdom and Belgium).

In explanation of his abstention, Sir Alec Randall (United Kingdom) stated that his government had quite exceptional responsibility in Africa which put it under obligation to be very circumspect in regard to a resolution the language of which was, in some places, rather ambiguous.

The Committee began general discussion of the U.N. programmes of technical assistance, and heard statements by David Owen, Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board.

Mr. Owen pointed out that the 1956 programme had been a landmark. Some 104 countries and territories received assistance which, measured in dollars, amounted to \$30.5 million as against \$25.8 million in 1955. The counterpart expenditures incurred by the recipient governments themselves in connexion with their obligations were estimated to be in the neighbourhood of \$77 million, or more than three times the full cost of the programme.

Turning to the future, Mr. Owen declared that his optimism was based on the great improvement in inter-governmental and inter-agency co-operation achieved in recent years, on the efficient planning of programmes and recruitment of experts and in the growing confidence of governments. His only major anxiety today was financial. While the recent pledging conference had been the best so far, the United States had made its pledge of \$15.5 million with the proviso that it should not exceed 45 per cent of the total. If the U.S. pledge were to be fully paid, the contributions from other countries would have to exceed their present total, he explained. Mr. Owen pointed out that the prospects for the following years were much

more serious as the U.S. matching percentage would decline to 38 per cent in 1959 and to 33 per cent in 1960.

Council of Europe Plan for Africa

A study group of six European and six African economists and politicians has submitted a "Colombo Plan" for the development of Africa to the Consultative Assembly of the fifteen-nation Council of Europe at Strasbourg. Among the principles embodied in the report are these: although all Euro-African joint development programmes should further interests of both Europe and Africa, their overriding target must be to raise the living standards of African people. Africans should have an active part in the building up of a modern African economy at all levels.

Co-operation between Europe and African countries should be strictly on an equal footing. Stress is laid by the study group on the importance of creating a favourable atmosphere for foreign investments in Africa.

Technical assistance—both governmental and private—is another feature of the plan. The study group has drawn up a report which calls for co-ordination of national programmes for the development of Africa. It also calls for the creation of a consultative committee composed of ministers from those European and African countries which will participate in the scheme. Mr. Tshekedi Khama, of Bechuanaland, former regent of the Bamangwato tribe, and now a member of the joint Europe and African Advisory Council, was one of the members of the study group. (*Pretoria News*, October 14, 1957.)

British Political Parties Discuss the Commonwealth

At the Conservative Party's Annual Conference a motion welcoming the accession of Colonial territories to self-governing and independent status and asking the Government to explore all possible ways of helping them with technical and financial aid was carried with only about a dozen votes against it. Only one speech opposed the motion. Mr. Harold Soreff (Dudley) said policies of self-determination, applied blindly, could lead only to anarchy and corruption. Replying to the debate, Mr. C. J. Alport, Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said that in the past five years the Government had, on average, invested or given by means of grants in aid, about £200 million a year to the economic development of Commonwealth and colonial territories, at a time when there had been great programmes of industrial reconstruction and expansion at home and many financial difficulties. The Government were determined to continue to play a leading part in Commonwealth development, remembering always that their ability to do so effectively depended upon the soundness of financial policy at home, upon the strength of sterling as a world currency, and upon Britain's ability to ensure that her own industrial potential was competitive with the rest of the world. (*West Africa*, October 14, 1957.)

The Labour Party Conference endorsed the executive's statement, pledging the next Labour Government to devote 1 per cent of the national income¹ to assist "backward and colonial" territories. *West Africa* (October 19, 1957) commented that the statement recognized that recipient countries had to be "geared up" to receive aid; that no amount of aid could offset fluctuations in incomes due to commodity price changes; and that while bulk purchase and long-term agreements would be applied to colonial produce, nothing short of international Agreement on price stabilization would really be effective. But it is unclear to which countries it will apply and it is confused over bulk purchase. It ignores the formidable political problems arising when an "imperialist" government takes to trading with its colonies or former colonies. It is no good the Labour Party disapproving of plantations or "creation of a wealthy peasant class" in West Africa. Most governments there approve of both, and might use some "economic aid" to develop them further. One suspects that the old fallacy, that colonial politicians are necessarily sympathetic to socialism, is at play. Economic development in most "underdeveloped" countries will not follow a neat pattern and, regrettable though that doubtless is, ruthless entrepreneurs, particularly local ones, cannot be excluded from it.

The Liberal Party Assembly carried a resolution asserting the principles of self-government for all territories of the Commonwealth and,

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

calling upon "all present and future partners in the Commonwealth to work together to devise means of maintaining these principles of racial equality, respect for the individual, justice without fear or favour and freedom from external or internal oppression". It also called upon the Government to pursue "such economic policies as will enable Britain to accumulate capital which may be available for investment in under-developed territories overseas". The mover, Mr. R. Moore, said the Party must fight against all those who threatened the Commonwealth, particularly those "who think that there is some intrinsic merit in having a pink skin". The critics quoted events in Ghana as justification for their ideas, but Ghana might be spoiling its opportunities like South Africa, but it did not affect the general principle of Commonwealth evolution. (*Manchester Guardian*, September 21, 1957.)

Development Fund Difficulties

Mr. P. T. Bauer, the Cambridge economist, in a letter to *The Times* (November 4, 1957) said: "The proposal that the United Kingdom and other developed countries should make grants of about 1 per cent of their national incomes to an international fund for the economic development of under-developed countries is now widely and influentially canvassed. . . .

"One per cent of the national income may seem a small sum. But for the United Kingdom it represents about £180 million more than the total revenue from surtax or estate duties, and about equal to total capital formation in the iron and steel and chemical industries together. This is quite apart from the balance of payments problems of its transfer. Nor is it clear how the proposed measure is to be related to current assistance to, or investment in, Commonwealth countries. . . .

"The second and much more important point derives from the criteria in the distribution of the funds. The leading proponents of such measures have recently suggested clearly the principal criterion they envisage. It is the adoption by the recipient Governments of comprehensive development planning and the imposition of special taxation to accelerate capital formation (compulsory saving). Thus not only do such grants increase the resources of the Government relatively to the private sector but they are to be given to countries in which the direction and composition of economic activity are to be determined largely by the Government. . . . The effects of such comprehensive policies are far-reaching and pervasive, and imply close control by the Government over the economy as a whole and over the lives and activities of the people. For various reasons, of which the absence of a homogeneous well-informed public opinion is only one, the implications of such far-reaching powers are particularly serious in the under-developed world. All this is quite apart from the question whether such policies do in fact serve to increase the standard of living of the masses of the people."

Democracy in Underdeveloped Countries

The Economist (November 9, 1957) in a leading article discussed the implications of "guided democracy"—a system of government with which, it said, countries such as Ghana, Indonesia, Pakistan and the Middle East States were toying. Those in support of this system "should decide for what purposes they wish democracy to be guided and beyond what limits guidance will become dictatorship. The critics must realize why the new nations cannot pattern themselves exactly on either Westminster or Washington.

"The countries, being mostly ones that have only just broken loose from other people's empires, now find that they themselves contain groups that are restive under central rule . . . they are usually poor countries which, nevertheless in the first flush of nationhood, want to see the factory chimneys going up fast. This means holding back a lot of resources for investment out of a national income that is already too small for comfort. It calls for a high degree of self-discipline. . . . The political parties are often too new to have shaken themselves out into a workable bi-polar arrangement of majority and minority. The total result is that governments often find themselves faced with almost mutinous oppositions, not yet trained to wait patiently for the next turn of the electoral tide. . . .

"The new Afro-Asian democracies are in a different category from all the countries that have never even ventured out from under authoritarian

rule. They have not—or most of them have not—given up democracy as a bad job. Their claim is only that their special difficulties demand special and probably temporary, modifications to the systems they inherited from Europe and North America.

"What can the older democracies do to help . . . they are in honesty bound to make some rather obvious negative points. 'Guidance' or 'a strong hand' is no guarantee in itself that the right things will get done, and done efficiently. . . . Nor will any democracy find it as easy to divert resources from consumption to investment as will a communist state in the same stage of development. . . . At least three positive suggestions can be made.

"The first is that a good civil service—intelligent, dedicated and uncorrupt—can hold a state together even when politics are threatening to pull it apart. Not many countries share India's good fortune in inheriting a Civil Service grown to maturity under British guidance, but something might still be done to give the rest the benefit of Western experience. The United Nations secretariat is at the moment trying to draft a scheme for placing a number of fairly senior officials from Europe and America in the ministries of backward nations. . . . The officials would fill specific posts, at a high level in (though not at the top of) different departments, but they would also be available to give general advice on what makes a bureaucracy tick successfully. Such a scheme has a good deal of merit, particularly since it recognizes that touchy young nationalists are less likely to look a gift horse in the mouth if it wears a U.N. label round its neck. . . .

"Secondly, where the parliamentary machine has got temporarily jammed there may be a case for an economic planning board, empowered to take a wider range of decisions without reference to parliament than similar institutions can take elsewhere. . . ."

The third suggestion (made with trepidation) is that "in rudimentary and volatile societies, where rabbles are easily roused, it may be necessary to recognize that the outer bounds of free speech—as exemplified at Hyde Park Corner, for instance—may have to be contracted a little. But those who set themselves to do the contracting must observe three rules. Any restrictions must apply equally to everybody: if the prime minister is to be allowed certain kinds of immunity, so should the leaders of the opposition parties. Nothing should be done that removes the right of dissidents to organize a democratic opposition, and to act in the belief that the opposition is, potentially, a future government. . . ."

"Parliamentary democracy, as practised in the West, is still something most of the countries concerned genuinely admire and would like to emulate. If the West wants to keep this admiration, it must show an understanding of their special needs."

"A Bewilderment of Franchises"

The Times (November 11, 1957) posed the question: "How many Africans should have the vote?" and immediately gave the reply—"Ultimately there is only one democratic answer, but where the vast majority of the population is ignorant and education has not become general it has been generally (though not wholly) accepted that some limit must be applied to the franchise. . . . On the one hand there is the African demand for immediate universal suffrage; on the other is the European settlers' fear of being swamped by an illiterate electorate. No compromise is likely to be acceptable to the extremist, and the noisiest, factions on either side.

"It is possible to trace certain other common factors in the political progress of British Africa. The method favoured in early stages is to have a fixed proportion of seats for each race, with perhaps some form of 'indirect' elections for Africans, based on electoral colleges. As political consciousness develops among the indigenous people this method becomes resented, and the demand arises for direct elections. At this stage the franchise is restricted by financial and educational qualifications."

East Africa—Uganda is to reach this stage next year, when direct elections will be held before the introduction in 1961 of elections on a common roll, with representation of the non-African community. At the last election in Kenya the franchise was qualified by a "points" system and Africans elected their representatives directly by secret ballot. In this election about 400,000 of the 5,800,000 Africans in the colony were eligible,

but only 126,508 registered. The poor turnout of Africans qualified to vote has been noted in other territories.

The first common roll election for a Legislative Council in an East African territory took place in Zanzibar earlier this year. The complete swamping of the Arabs by the mass African vote has led to some suspicion that the common roll principle may not be the ultimate answer in East Africa because the election would be fought on a racial basis. Meanwhile the principle has been accepted for the other East African territory, Tanganyika, where the first general elections are to be held next year. The franchise is limited and on a qualitative basis; Europeans, Asians, and Africans will have an equal number of elected members.

Central Africa—In Southern Rhodesia at the moment there are just over 1,000 Africans out of a total of about 54,000 voters on the common roll. In the 1953 elections there were three Africans in the 157,447 voters in Northern Rhodesia, and none out of the 1,058 in Nyasaland; the four Africans at present representing the northern territories in the Federal Assembly were elected by acclamation or general agreement through a series of councils. This is also the method adopted for the two territorial assemblies.

There were about 1,021,600 Africans employed in the Federation last year, more than half of them in Southern Rhodesia and about three-fifths of the remainder in Northern Rhodesia. Under the new electoral qualifications introduced in Southern Rhodesia by the Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd, the best estimate is that between 1,000 and 1,500 Africans might qualify for the "ordinary" roll, and between 12,000 and 15,000 for the "special" roll. There are about 40,000 workers in the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia, and from calculations based on the tables of their earnings about 15,000 Africans could qualify for this roll on income grounds. Some 700 could be eligible for the "general" roll, provided that they have the Cambridge Certificate of Education or its equivalent. Not many Africans outside the Copperbelt are likely to qualify for either roll, and the number of voters in Nyasaland will be very small—one estimate puts the figure at under 1,000.

These estimates are unlikely to be valid for long because of the rate at which economic factors are changing in Central Africa. Africans have at the moment about £100 million a year to spend, a figure which is increasing by £10 million a year, and they have over £2 million in the Federal Post Office Savings Bank. The political situation will be totally altered in five or ten years by economic factors.

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

MR. PETER CALVOCORESSI has joined the Africa Bureau Executive Committee.

Believing that it is vitally important that the implications of the Central African Constitution Amendment Bill should be fully understood in Britain, the Africa Bureau has published a pamphlet entitled "Central Africa and the British Parliament", which gives the background to this Bill and the Africa Bureau's views on it. This has been widely circulated in Britain and Central Africa. (Obtainable from the Bureau, price 4d.) A public meeting designed to focus attention on Central African issues was held on November 11 in London. Lord Hemingford was in the chair and the speakers were Mr. James Callaghan, M.P., and the Rev. Michael Scott. It was well attended and many questions were asked by the audience. At the end of the meeting, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, Secretary-General of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, spoke from the platform.

The Rev. Michael Scott gave evidence before the U.N. Fourth Committee in New York at the end of September. He preached in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, on October 27, and the following day left for Toronto, where he had a full two-day programme, speaking at meetings and making a recording for the Canadian Broadcasting Co. As an outcome of his visit a student organization, the Fellowship of Concern for South Africa, has been established at the University of Toronto.

Teacher Recruitment for Colonies

A small unit has been set up in the U.K. Ministry of Education to assist the Colonial Office and the British Council in recruiting teachers for overseas posts and to help in placing teachers on their return. The main obstacles which, in the past, had deterred British teachers from taking posts overseas have been a lack of assurance about adequate salary and security of contract and the uncertainty of re-employment on return. The British Council was able, on occasion, to give financial assistance to make overseas posts more attractive to teachers from the United Kingdom. The Government proposed to extend these arrangements. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, October 30, 1957.)

BOOK LIST

(Recent acquisitions to the Africa Bureau Library)

Kenya 1956. Annual Report by the Colonial Office. H.M.S.O.

Nyasaland 1956. Annual Report by the Colonial Office. H.M.S.O.

Cameroons: under U.K. Administration, 1956. Annual Report by H.M. Government to the General Assembly of the United Nations. H.M.S.O. (price 11s. 6d.)

BATTEN, T. R. *Communities and their Development*. Oxford University Press. One of the first attempts to describe why and how community development schemes operate in underdeveloped territories. Many examples from East and West Africa are given. (Price 15s.)

U.N. Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, 1956. H.M.S.O. (from U.N.). A well-documented comparative study of race relations, industrial relations, public health, nutrition and community development schemes. (Price 12s. 6d.)

HAILEY, LORD. *An African Survey*. Revised 1956, Oxford University Press. The "classic" single volume of 1,676 pages considerably added to and altered since its first appearance in 1938. The new volume is up to date to the end of 1955. (Price £5 5s.)

ADAM, Dr. L. *The Birth of Three States: Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia* (in Dutch). University of Leyden Press, 1957. A concentrated review of the political developments leading to independence in the three countries.

The conference organized by the Committee on Science and Freedom on University Apartheid in South Africa was arranged as the result of discussions held last summer between the Africa Bureau and the Committee. Dr. J. W. Cook, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Exeter, took the chair, and Professor Kenneth Kirkwood, Lord Chorley and Mr. Scott were among the speakers (see p. 107).

Africa Councils have continued in their efforts to raise funds for the Treason Trials Defence Fund in South Africa. The Llanely Africa Council had a particularly successful Flag Day at which over £90 was raised.

Members of the Africa Bureau staff have spoken at meetings arranged by Africa Councils and other organizations. Miss Symonds visited the three Africa Councils in Co. Durham and described the work of St. Faith's Farm to children at two schools at Catterick Army Camp. Mrs. Philip spoke to the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society at Greenwich on the provisions of the Constitutions of South and Central Africa.

St. Faith's Farm has established a loan scheme whereby any amount from £5 upwards, in units of £5, can be loaned. The security is provided by the land, and interest is offered at 5 per cent per annum. Further details are available from the African Development Trust, c/o Africa Bureau.

Christmas cards in aid of St. Faith's Mission in Southern Rhodesia can be obtained from Miss Mary Moore, 16 Mount Field, Faversham, Kent. (6d. each with envelopes.)

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

